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Subversives? Look in the mirror, Senator!
James O. Eastland of Mississippi, a state bordering on the U. S.

WAR ON DESEGREGATION

Eastland Dixiecrats organize to defy high court order

By Lawrence Emery

ACTIVE, ORGANIZED WARFARE against the Supreme Court's desegregation decision and against Constitutional guarantees of the rights of Negroes was planned at a secret meeting during the Christmas week in Memphis, Tenn. Two U.S. Senators, six U.S. Representatives and four former Southern governors were part of the revolt led by delegates from 12 Southern states. They set up an organization called the Federation for Constitutional Government, pledged themselves to fight racial integration and "other efforts to destroy the Constitution," and cheered Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) when he shouted:

> "Fight the Court, fight the CIO. fight the NAACP and fight all conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction."

THE PURPOSE: Details of the secret meeting were published on Dec. 29 by the Memphis **Commercial Appeal.** About 35 men and women had gathered in the Memphis Peabody Hotel in a two-day meeting and set up the new group that has been in the planning stage since a meeting in Jackson, Miss., last January. The delegates elected a 100-man advisory board which includes Sen. Eastland; Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.); Gov. Marvin Griffin (D-Ga.); Democratic Representatives from Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia; and former Governors of Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas.

An executive committee of 12, one from each of the states represented, named as their chairman John U. Barr, a New Orleans businessman and a one-time director of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. In a telephone interview with the N.Y. **Times,** he said the new group's purpose will be to

> ". . . fight anything that would destroy the Constitution—Presidential agreements that would destroy the Constitution, the progressive education that would destroy the Constitution.
>
> "The segregation proposition is only one of the small facets being used to destroy the Constitution."

FREE ENTERPRISE: The Memphis paper quoted Barr as telling the meeting that a main aim of the new federation will be to "co-ordinate" the activities of Southern groups set up to oppose desegregation, such as the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi, the States Rights Council of Georgia and the Committee for Individual Rights in Virginia.

The **Commercial Appeal** quoted Sen.

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THE STRANGE STORY IN THE N. Y. TIMES

U.S. concentration camps ready—for what?

By Elmer Bendiner

IN SEPTEMBER, 1950, six Democratic liberal Senators fought the McCarran Internal Security Act but offered a counter-proposal to set up concentration camps for "security risks." The backers of the McCarran Act joyfully accepted the proposal and incorporated it into the bill.

Money was appropriated for the camps but then the matter was hushed. Except for occasional mention, nothing was heard until last week when the N.Y. **Times** featured a three-column survey of six camps and found them ready for occupancy as soon as the pick-up squads go to work.

The six camps might have been named for the six liberals to haunt them: Kilgore (W. Va.), Lehman (N. Y.), Kefauver (Tenn.), Graham, (N. C.), Douglas (Ill.), and Humphrey (Minn). Throughout the debate on the bill the six kept pushing their concentration camp measure. Kilgore explained to a GUARDIAN correspondent at the time:

> "Why, it simplifies the whole business. We don't impose any foolish and cumbersome registration provisions. We save the Justice Dept. all that work. . . . And we save the Constitution."

TRUMAN'S VETO: When the GUARDIAN confronted him with the horrors of concentration camps in the U.S., Kilgore said:

> "This isn't a concentration camp bill. It's merely an authorization to arrest."

Most of the drafters of the concentration camp proposal suggested rounding up people in time of war, invasion or insurrection. Kefauver insisted on round-ups immediately because U.S. forces were then engaged in Korea.

The Act went to President Truman at the end of the session. He could have pocketed it for 10 days and killed it. Instead, he vetoed it and Sen. Majority leader Scott Lucas (D-Ill.) piloted it swiftly to final passage cver the veto.

MARC WAS AGAINST: The firmest out-and-out opposition to the McCarran Act and the barbed-wire alternative came from the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y), who punc-

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ANOTHER EASTLAND VICTIM

Atty. Harry Sacher indicted for contempt

EVER SINCE he served as a leading member of a panel of attorneys in defense of 11 Communist Party leaders in 1949, Harry Sacher has been harassed by the Federal government and other agencies. In 1952 he served a six-month jail sentence imposed by Judge Harold Medina who presided at the 1949 Smith Act trial.

Following that he was ordered disbarred by a Federal Court, but that order was reversed by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 6 to 2 decision in April, 1954.

A year later he was summoned before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee during its inquiry into the case of Harvey Matusow, recanting government witness. He refused to answer questions about his personal beliefs; on July 28, 1955, the U. S. Senate cited him for contempt of Congress. On Dec. 21 he was formally indicted on the charge by a Federal grand jury in Washington.

"INCONSISTENT WITH DIGNITY": At the Matusow inquiry, Sacher answered all questions except those relating to his own beliefs:

> "I refuse categorically, Mr. Chairman, to discuss my beliefs, religious, political, economic, or social. I do not do so on the ground of the Fifth Amendment. I do so because it is inconsistent with the dignity of any man to be compelled to disclose his political, religious, economic, social or any other views. . . . I therefore decline on the ground that I cannot with any regard for my own self-respect do otherwise. . . ."

When committee counsel asked Sacher if he had ever been disbarred, he had this to say:

> "You see, Mr. Chairman, counsel is not interested in eliciting the truth. He is interested in smearing me, and so although he knows that the Supreme Court of the United States reversed my disbarment, he asks me only whether I was disbarred, and I respectfully submit it is unworthy of the great functionss of a Senate investigating committee to do that."

HARRY SACHER

Renew now with a pledge for '56

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R J

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1956 automatically renews your sub and assures much needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

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or:

☐ $........ enclosed to cover my renewal ($3 a year).

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THE MAIL BAG

Illusion

BRONX, N. Y.

Although it is gratifying to observe an easing of world tensions as a result of Geneva, I feel that many fellow progressives draw unwarranted conclusions from such events. They seem to think that the ending of the Korean war and the Geneva Conference (both happy events) were brought about by the never-ending drive of the people for peace and prosperity. The masses of people are always bringing pressure and this pressure forces a sometimes reluctant government such as ours into a path of co-existence with the socialist world instead of a policy of being consistently belligerent.

I seem to detect an illusion in this type of thinking. Needless to say, Eisenhower and his whole clique from Dulles down are the big business representatives and this is truer in this Administration than any other for about the last 25 years. When we can accept this premise we must surely come to accept the idea that big business, interested only in profit making, seeks expansion in the foreign field as well as exploitation at home.

It is mere coincidence that their drive for profits through trade coincides with the great and worthy aspirations of the peoples of the world.
Samuel Kaufman

Boycott Mississippi

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have just written the governor of Mississippi voicing my views on the Eugene Till case. I also said that I will boycott all goods from Mississippi and will do all I can to get others to do the same. Perhaps economic pressure will have a greater effect on the Mississippi mind than moral pressure.
Reader

Heart of Texas

PASADENA, TEX.

Because of my financial situation I have been trying to economize on everything. I thought of cutting down on the GUARDIAN like everything else possible because I figured I could filter out the news from the usual sources. I cut out my subscription to Time because, after careful observation, I realized almost everything they printed appeared in my regular Houston Chronicle. This is not the case with the GUARDIAN, which seems to be getting better every issue.

Our strength comes from the victories of our friends and neighbors today. I have a degree in chemistry, but was fired by Dow Chemical for political reasons. I am a merchant seaman, but was banned from sailing under the President's Executive Order No. 10173. I hold a Texas Permanent Teacher's Certificate, but am liable to prosecution if I accept a job by signing the Loyalty Oath.

I have a wife and an 18-month-old daughter and have not yet been able to use my professional training in supporting them. My present job is strictly menial: drumming chemicals and sealing them for shipping from midnight to 8 a.m. The FBI called once or twice to see if I wanted to come down and tell them anything. I refused of course.

I am a native-born Texan, blond, six foot and healthy, with a college degree, but may as well be a decrepit moron as far as the life I have to lead—just because I do not believe in segregation or war.

To lead this sort of life without giving in—to uphold our integrity, our beliefs in Jefferson, Darrow, Thoreau, Sandburg, Lincoln, London, Paine, Voltaire, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Shaw, Beethoven, and anyone else who may think—requires great strength. This strength comes from the daily victories of people like ourselves. The GUARDIAN must print every victory such as the Dunham case, and the various ways other people deal with these types of problems similar to my own. All these when added together represent a concrete reason for a lasting faith in ourselves, our dreams, ideals, beliefs and hopes.
Name withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SEOUL, Oct. 29, (AP)—South Korea today denounced North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung's call for a Far East conference on Korean unification as a "Communist campaign for the extinction of freedom through co-existence."

—Seattle Times, Oct. 30, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. G. Holzinger, Seattle. Please send original clip with entry.

Bats and Belfrage

NEVADA CITY, CALIF.

As I again have a somewhat durable address I am going to have you place my name on your subscribers list for the good, reliable NATIONAL GUARDIAN. For the last 2½ years I had no permanent address and I can assure you that I have missed your publication very much.

The truth is a very bitter pill to take for the present powers that be in the U.S.A. While we will miss Mr. Belfrage as the editor we are glad to know that he is still writing articles from abroad. I have lived for some years in Canada and, while there, I learned that there is more freedom of speech and the press under British rule than in the U.S.A. In fact they are not so terribly scared of the truth there. The bats of degradation thrive but in the dark.
Robert Scherlie

Thank you, no

WELWYN, ENGLAND

Lord Beaverbrook, a member of our second (non-elected) Chamber is an old man turned sour! Not a day passes but his English papers bay their warnings against self-government in our "possessions." Now, forsooth, this perambulating figleaf presents himself in an interview in the N. Y. Journal-American, as protector of American political chastity.

What a scandal we should hear in UN. What he would hide from the press. How immoral that the voices of the oppressed should reach the ears of the people!

Oblige by keeping him in New York. We will do our best to forward you the rest of our privileged nobility—you can then take them to Boston and hold another Tea Party.

Carry on the good work.
Joseph Fleming

A great poet

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I made the pitch at a little GUARDIAN party the other night and squeezed more than fifty bucks from good folks who have already given to my U. S. Supreme Court appeal and everything else. . . . Among other things I said:

The GUARDIAN we need as plants
need the waters,
As parents need children, both sons
and daughters,
As life needs the air, sun, food,
toil and play,
As people who think they need the
right to their say —
So let's kick through some bucks
and cut up and caper
To insure the long life of our excellent paper.

Harry C. Steinmetz

Nevertheless . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I like your paper, but it takes too long to find out the point of the article. It is in small print and most of the space taken for one article is unnecessary.

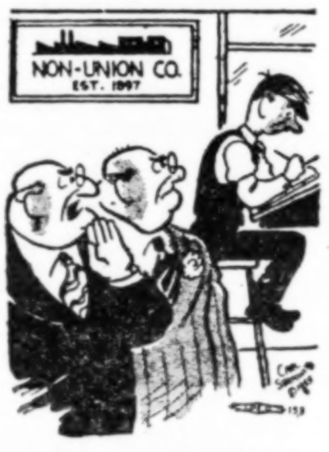
I still want it.
D. C.

For a B. S. U.

MARNE, MICH.

My husband and I are close to 60 years of age. He is like the song, "Too old to work, too young to die." I do get work baby-sitting, but with so many older women at it, wages are low.

Like to see a B. S. U. (Baby-Sitters Union). These young mothers working out often get $100 a week; and older, responsible women care for the children at home at wages from $10 to $12, once in a while $18 a week.
Lottie Rolfe



Labor's Daily, W. Va.

"We'd better examine Simpson's books. I hear he's been getting along on what we pay him."

For Esperanto

NEWARK, N. J.

For the lack of a common language we will not just stall but, like the Tower of Babel, we will crumble. On the other hand, there are a hundred effects that will come as a result of a universal language and every one of them add up to a better world.

Sixty-eight years ago a new language came into being. More than 6,000,000 people now speak it and it continues to grow. It is a beautifully logical language and easy to learn. It is Esperanto.

Never before has our earth been so fertile for a common language. Never before has the need been so great. The UN should be its most ardent cultivator for it is with a language understood everywhere that it can best do its job.
Abe Fadem

Sheep vs. wolves

LYONS, NEBR.

It looks like the world event draws mighty near when the bloodthirsty "patriots" will be given "blood to drink" (Rev. 16-4-6). I lost my husband, Harvey, this summer, due largely to nervous strain. Every day the news reports prompt the question: Can sheep survive in wolf country?
Christine Sydow

For the good fight

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am sure sorry to hear of the new witch-hunt and John McManus' and James Aronson's involvement in it. It seems like they are trying to put the GUARDIAN out of business by putting out of circulation its most important people and breaking it financially. Well, I can't send much but I am enclosing an extra dollar and hope all other Friends of Truth and Freedom will send as much or more in proportion to their means. Give my best wishes to the two men for their victory.
Mrs. S. M. Wirig

Coming-out party

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The enclosed $15 was donated by friends and well-wishers on the occasion of my first birthday party. It was quite an affair. I think I'll have one every year.
Gina Brown

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"Truth is like the rising sun which one cannot hide with the palm of the hand."—AFRICAN PROVERB.

REPORT TO READERS

Press witch-hunt

AS THIS ISSUE OF THE GUARDIAN reaches you, two of the three founders and incorporators of the paper in 1948 will, in all likelihood, have been questioned by the Internal Security subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in public hearings in Washington. This subcommittee is chaired by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.).

The GUARDIAN does not think the Eastland Committee is motivated by concern for the internal security of the nation in its current hearings. Rather it is out to keelhaul the nation's topmost newspaper, the N. Y. **Times**, and thereby to intimidate the press of the nation generally because of the growing unfriendliness in editorial columns for the McCarthy tactics which the Eastland Committee seeks to revive for election-year headlines.

IT IS HARDLY A COINCIDENCE that the GUARDIAN's James Aronson and John T. McManus have been called in this effort, since both are former **Times** writers and both were active in the Newspaper Guild almost from its inception until they took honorable withdrawals to found the GUARDIAN in 1948. Hence the Committee sees a triple opportunity: (1) to "expose" the Newspaper Guild; (2) to bedevil the **Times**, and (3) to cast whatever aspersions it can on the GUARDIAN in the process. This we know from the questions asked in the executive sessions last month.

If questioned in public as they were in private about associations on the **Times** and in the Newspaper Guild, the GUARDIAN executives will welcome the opportunity to assure the public of the worth and integrity of the **Times** men and women and Guild leaders the Committee seeks to discredit.

And although the **Times**, by severing the employment of three men called by the Eastland Committee, has shown itself to have a banana where its backbone ought to be, we applaud its editorial policy of defending the users of the First and Fifth Amendments in witch-hunt inquiries.

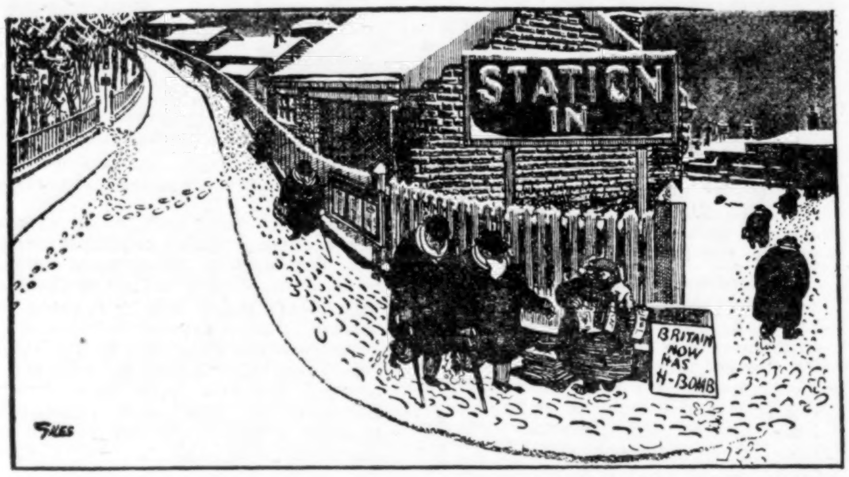
THE **Times** is right in its editorials, but for practical purposes we lean toward the counsel of Dean Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard Law School in his recent treatise, "The Fifth Amendment Today." Recognizing that "in a number of cases in which the Fifth Amendment has been claimed, the underlying reason, and perhaps the sound reason, is more closely connected with the First Amendment," Dean Griswold notes that in today's legislative investigations "nearly every safeguard which has been developed over the centuries by our courts is thrown out the window." In such situations, the protections of the Fifth Amendment are essential because

> ". . . at its best, a legislative investigation is not too satisfactory a place to be concerned with individual rights, nor for creating confidence in the witness that his rights will be safeguarded and respected."

FINALLY, should the Senators seek views on the state of internal security in our country, witnesses should be quick to point out that the single most highly-placed enemy of the internal security of the nation is the chairman of the subcommittee himself, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, now preaching white insurrection against the constitutional rights of ten million Negro people in the South.

WAR & PEACE

Pope and Soviet leaders stress solution on atom and an end to colonialism



Giles in Daily Express, London

"Warms the cockles of your 'eart, don't it?" Now we can all bomb one another."

By Kumar Goshal

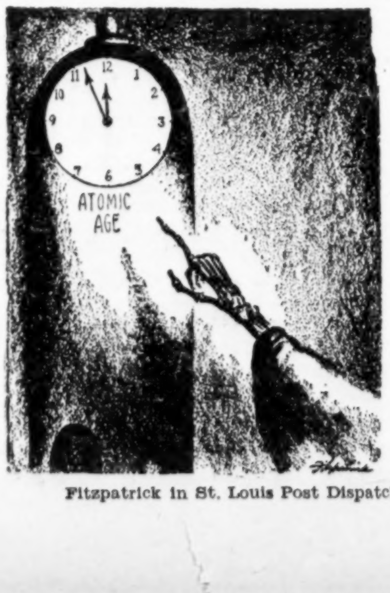
WORLDWIDE DESIRE for avoiding a nuclear holocaust, for disarmament and settlement of international disputes through peaceful negotiation among heads of governments, for colonial freedom and non-interference in the internal affairs of others—all these were reflected in Pope Pius XII's Christmas message and in the speeches of Soviet Premier Bulganin and CP secy. Khrushchev before the Supreme Soviet last week.

Since, in a nuclear war, "there will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity," the Pope proposed three steps: (1) halting nuclear weapons tests; (2) banning of such weapons; (3) disarmament controlled by aerial inspection and a worldwide network of internationally-staffed observation posts.

THE INDIAN PLAN: India first proposed a "standstill" agreement on nuclear weapons tests after the U.S.' Bikini H-bomb test in the spring of 1954. Then a horrified world was awakened to the terrible potentialities of a nuclear war. The proposal was supported by the Soviet Union, Japan's parliament and many world scientists.

But the Western powers refused to consider it; at the recent UN General Assembly they blocked a Syria-Indonesia resolution for stopping H-bomb tests at least until further studies of radiation effects have been made.

In the prolonged disarmament discussions, Moscow accepted the British-French proposal for a limited reduction in armed forces. At that point Washington shifted its position to aerial inspection and exchange of military blueprints as the precondition and the "gateway" to any understanding about disarmament. Moscow agreed to consider the U. S. proposal and offered a counter proposal: a package deal including specific disarmament plans, a ban on nuclear weapons, and the stationing of international teams at strategic points in the world. Washington, however, has refused to budge until its aerial inspection plan is unconditionally accepted.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch

WEST HOLDS FIRM: The Pope has apparently joined these proposals in a plan that seems closer to Moscow's offer than to Washington's. In a realistic manner he has given distinct priority to halting nuclear weapons tests and renunciation of such weapons in war. His proposal was reported to have caused grave concern in Washington.

There is still no sign that the West will modify its position on nuclear weapons. The U. S. has even refused to agree to the U. S. S. R.'s plea to all nations to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Western response generally has been to declare its willingness not to use such weapons except in defense against aggression. The Vatican, however, called for unqualified renunciation.

The reason for the West's position is obvious. NATO and SEATO forces are increasingly being geared to tactical atomic weapons. Secy. Dulles still believes in "massive retaliation" and building up "positions of strength." Washington has tried to silence critics of its policy by assuring them that tactical atomic weapons can be used to pin-point an attack only on military targets, that the danger of atomic radiation has been exaggerated.

EXPLODED MYTH: But the U. S. armed services recent Operation Sagebrush, during which the use of tactical atomic weapons was simulated, "completely demolished the pleasant myth" that civilian centers would not be destroyed in the course of the use of tactical atomic weapons (The **Nation**, 12/24/55.) And British MP Emrys Hughes (**Peace News**, 12/2/55) quoted a London **Daily Express** correspondent as reporting that the "death dust" set free by the newest

> ". . . Soviet super-bomb . . . is enough to contaminate up to 100,000 square miles of country to a dangerous degree under average British conditions. The area of Britain is 87,000 square miles."

Hanson Baldwin nevertheless noted (N. Y. **Times**, 1/1) in Britain a marked "trend toward dependence on nuclear weapons." Prime Minister Eden last month admitted in Parliament that the real reason for his ignoring Moscow's offer to stop further nuclear weapons tests if others did the same was Britain's insistence on making and testing its own H-bomb. He argued that "our manufacture and possession of the H-bomb" is essential to the West's position of strength.

CALL IT QUITS: The London **New Statesman** commented (12/10/55):

> "[Eden] ignored the fact that the psychological moment to stop this madness is now—when 'parity' in explosions has been reached. . . . The recent Russian explosion [makes] it clear they have now developed [the kind of bomb] which the Americans exploded at Eniwetok [and] Bikini. . . . So we are now 'quits.' "

But "parity" does not square with the West's "position of strength" policy. According to a N. Y. **Times** editorial (12/26/55), Western "strategists" argue that

> ". . . if there is no further experimentation, power relations may be stuck at their present level—not necessarily a good thing."

Soviet leaders could not fail to observe the West's continuing efforts to build "positions of strength": Secy. Dulles' proposal to increase both domestic and foreign military expenditures in 1956, while the U. S. S. R. demobilized 640,000 from its armed forces and reduced the 1956 military budget by a tenth; British efforts to bring Jordan into METO; and President Eisenhower's Christmas message beamed by the Voice of America to Eastern European countries, saying that their "liberation" was still a goal of U. S. policy.

THE SOVIET REPORT: In their report to the Supreme Soviet on their tour of India, Burma and Afghanistan, Bulganin and Khrushchev paid tribute to the unprecedented reception they received.

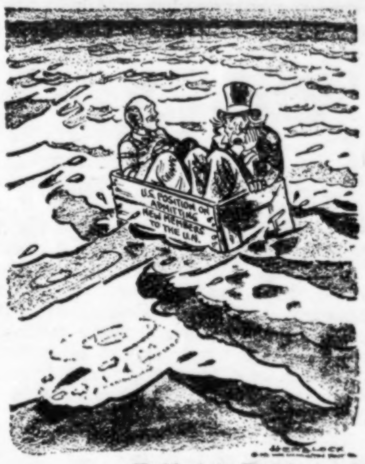
Bulganin stressed the importance of "personal contacts between leading statesmen" for reaching international understanding and pledged further Soviet efforts "to make wide use of such contacts in the future." Khrushchev said they found during the tour a "common understanding on all the matters discussed." He said that "given goodwill and honest intentions" international problems can be peacefully settled despite "different social systems."

Khrushchev emphasized Soviet desire "to improve relations even with the capitalist countries," and especially with "the most powerful capitalist countries—the U. S. A., Britain and France." He exposed the fallacy of building up NATO, SEATO, METO and other military alliances allegedly to prevent Soviet aggression by pointing out:

> "If the Soviet Union really intended to open up the road by war for a new social order in other countries, it would have done this long ago [because it] had the strongest army at the end of the war. . . . However, this did not happen and could not happen [because] revolutions are not for export [but] are made by the peoples themselves fighting for their deliverance. Soviet people have always pursued and will continue to pursue the road of peaceful coexistence [and] non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries."

THREAT OF NEW WAR: Despite his "great respect for Eisenhower," Khrushchev termed the President's "liberation" message a "gross interference in the internal affairs of free and sovereign states who are UN members." Declaring that such messages "foment passions and consequently a new arms race and the threat of a new war," he warned:

> "We do not want to frighten anybody and . . . brag of our military strength but we must cool off the more rabid arms race supporters and remind them of the results of the recent tests of the latest Soviet H-bomb. . . .
>
> "We still support the banning of the manufacture, testing and use of all kinds of atomic and hydrogen weapons. But those who argue against this should not overlook the results of these tests."


U.S. POSITION ON ADMITTING NEW MEMBERS TO THE U.N.
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"Now, how did I get into this one?"

THE COLONIAL ISSUE: Both the Pope and the Soviet leaders deplored colonialism. The Pope called for a settlement of disputes "in the relations between Europeans and those non-Europeans who aspire to full political independence." Bulganin held that "colonial regimes are a disgrace for present-day mankind" and incompatible with "the principles of the UN." Khrushchev explained that his anti-colonial speeches in Asia were not directed against the British government or the British people but against "the colonial system [which] is a profoundly unjust and misanthropic system."

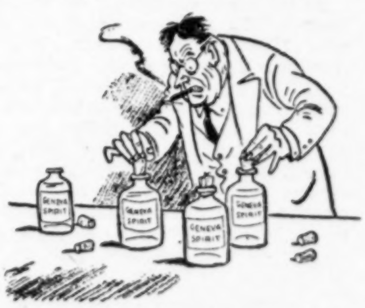
Both Washington and the U. S. press characterized the Soviet leaders' speeches as "tough talks" that have buried "the Geneva spirit" and reopened the "cold war." Yet the reply was even tougher. In response to Khrushchev's criticism of Eisenhower's "liberation" message White House press secy. James Hagerty—speaking for the President—reasserted that "liberation of the captive peoples . . . will continue to be a major goal of U. S. foreign policy."

UNBURIED SPIRIT: Far from trying to reopen the "cold war," Khrushchev pledged to "spare no effort" to improve relations with capitalist countries, which "would lead to real peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems." He said that the idea of some "sensible" capitalists for economic aid to underdeveloped countries was "much better than dragging countries into military blocs and pacts."

In an interview with **Telenews Agency**, Premier Bulganin said that popular desire for peace will not let "the Geneva spirit . . . be buried." He assured Soviet support for

> ". . . reduction of armaments and armed forces, the unconditional banning of [nuclear] weapons, the establishment of effective international control, and the implementation of the related decisions on this question."

Bulganin said he believed another four-power summit conference "can be fruitful" if all participants give "due consideration [to] the interests of all parties concerned."



Il Paese, Italy

You needn't try so hard, sir, to hide the Geneva Spirit. It has already spread throughout the world.

●

DON'T MAKE A DATE FOR BRIDGE! UNTIL YOU'VE CHECKED GUARDIAN'S CALENDAR ON PAGE 11 FOR MEETINGS, PARTIES, AFFAIRS IN YOUR CITY.

FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — II

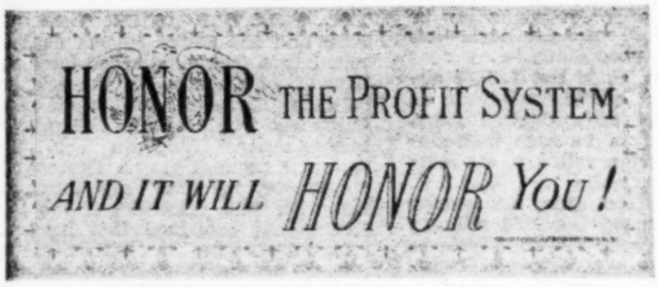
Why that expected depression never came

By Tabitha Petran

(Second of three articles)

AT THE END OF World War II, an imminent economic crisis was widely expected in the capitalist world. During the post-war decade, progressives, among others, more than once announced that the long-awaited depression was at hand. These mistaken predictions are now explained[1] as arising primarily from a failure to take account of the government's role in the economy.

Progressives who advance the program "to delay depression" deduce from the fact of faulty past predictions, not that more cogent analysis of the situation is necessary, but that no economic prediction can be trusted.



HONOR THE PROFIT SYSTEM

AND IT WILL HONOR YOU!

The 11th Commandment, issued as a mailing piece by something called the Natl. Fedn. of Independent Business, Inc. Have you been feeling unhonored lately?

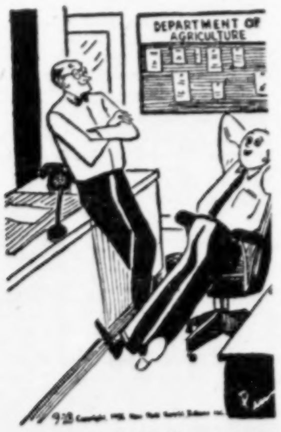
They say further that, even if a capitalist crisis were approaching, that would not alter their political program.[1]

Both these contentions are curious for Marxists who must believe that theory must be applied to the development of program and action on the basis of relevant historical facts and an estimate of the unfolding historical situation.

MECHANICAL VIEW: The mistakes in prediction were more basic than ignoring the role of government. They arose out of a mechanical view of the economy which saw in the end of huge World War II war expenditures the making of a major depression. Thus, the decline in U.S. production which took place at the war's end was, and still is,[1 & 2] interpreted as the "first post-war slump," the signal of a crisis maturing.

Similar production slumps, however, took place in every war-involved country, including the U.S.S.R. In the U.S., as elsewhere, the decline was brought about by the physical problems of converting from war to peace production.

At the time, no thoughtful economist believed that the change-over could take place without interrupting production. Those who predicted crisis were, in general, concerned with the problem of unemployment which was expected when war production was suddenly terminated. But what happened? Actual unemployment in this change-over—even after ample allowance is made for the gross understatement of government unemployment figures — was less than half of what the crisis forecasters anticipated.



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Disarmament would be nice. Then we could store surplus wheat in the Pentagon."

PROFIT SUBSIDY: This was because under the new contract cancellation law capitalists could retain their labor force on the payroll primarily at government expense. This law assured business almost the same profits on canceled contracts as on fulfilled contracts. While retaining high wartime profit tax rates, the law provided for the write-off of leases against future as well as past profits. As a result, business was paying as little as 10% of the cost of maintaining employment—and it is not hard to find tasks worth doing at 10% of the labor costs.

This certainly illustrates the government's role in the economy, but just as certainly it exemplifies government subsidy of profits rather than social welfare. Perhaps it was excusable for progressives not to have recognized its full significance at the time, when the trickle-down approach of government aids had so long been in disrepute. But there is no excuse for continuing to ignore that this government subsidy of profits has powered the post-war booms. This has been the characteristic role of government in the post-war period—even in the doling out of foreign aid—to the point where under the Eisenhower Administration it has become the explicit rationale of capitalist prosperity. Just as the boom has thrived on these aids to profit, it must surely bust when they are trimmed or abandoned.

CAPITAL EXPANSION: The claim that government measures have "delayed" the outbreak of crisis in the post-war period and that therefore "a peacetime economic program of labor and its allies" can similarly "postpone" the outbreak of crisis[3] indicates a misunderstanding of how capitalist economy works and of the entire economic development since World War II.

Far from setting the stage for a major crisis, World War II created the forces for a great wave of capital expansion. As the Illinois **Business Review** (9/55) pointed out:

> "That major cycles have in the past followed wars is more than coincidental. The war produces the situation that calls forth the intensive productive efforts of the boom, and the boom in turn sets in motion the forces of decline."

Post-World War II capital expansion was called forth by: (1) accumulated consumer demand and the forced savings which made this demand effective; (2) demand to repair war devastation abroad, with American capitalism providing the means of payment through U.S. government loans, Marshall Plan, etc.; and later (3) the huge arms program and stockpiling, with capital expansion induced directly by government demand and indirectly by provisions for tax rebates.

BOOM WAY OF LIFE: In getting the state to take such measures, American capitalists did what capitalists always do: drove to maximize profits. In so doing, capitalists do not try to introduce planning into planless capitalism, nor follow any policy of "preventing depression." They are simply being capitalists and their efforts for maximum profits, with or without state aid, are the way of life of a boom.

There is nothing particularly new or Keynesian about state intervention in the economy in behalf of capitalists. Rosa Luxembourg analyzed this phenomenon in 1900. The tariff was used to protect home industries throughout the development of capitalism. Imperial Japan greased the profit drive of Japanese big business with subsidies and bounties. Hitler had a program of subsidized trade, arms spending and slave labor.

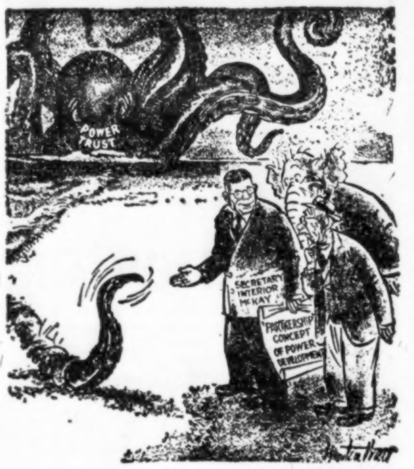
History challenges the notion, how so widespread, that American capitalists have developed some kind of a policy to "postpone depression."

ALL FOR PROFIT: If American capitalists were trying to "delay depression," UNRRA would not have been liquidated at U.S. insistence. The superseding Marshall Plan provided the means to extend and tighten monopoly controls abroad and to maximize U.S. profits—not to delay depression.

If there had been a policy to "delay depression" there would have been a Marshall Plan for under-developed countries. It would have been carried out (as so many liberals proposed) so as to develop the economies of these countries and thereby to expand markets. Instead the program actually undertaken was the classical imperialist promotion of private investment for the supply of raw materials from these countries to serve our "strategic" demands.

That the Korean War was a "police" action to maximize profits was apparent from the way in which it was fought. By agreement with U.S. big business, the only "emergency" controls adopted were those insuring the control of materials for military production and profits. Price inflation necessarily attended the boom generated by renewed military and capital expenditures, and the mad scramble for raw materials arising from government stockpiling. But wages, not prices, were controlled domestically, with the result that there was no carry-over of consumer savings from the Korean boom as from World War II. The limited controls thus represented a characteristic capitalist drive to wring the biggest possible profits out of the situation.

OVER THE TOP: We are now at the crest of a great post-war boom and the forces of decline have long since been set in motion. Production of capital goods is necessary only for an expanding economy. Today capitalist expansion has already out-stripped demand in many important fields and the same fate awaits many others. A great new wave of capital expansion is needed to keep the boom going. But as the GUARDIAN pointed out earlier, there are no sources for the huge new demand necessary to spur such expansion—short of a tremendous increase in war spending. And this is almost surely impossible without war itself.


POWER TRUST
SECRETARY INTERIOR McKAY
PARTNERSHIP CONCEPT OF POWER DEVELOPMENT

Sacramento Bee

"Shake hands with your local partner."

Government programs are subject, at least in part, to the same cyclical patterns as private investment. The Illinois **Business Review** (9/55) speaking of government military programs pointed out:

> "When equipment and supplies have been built up to the level contemplated by established objectives, production must be cut back to the level of current use. The result is similar in effect to the saturation of a private market."

Capitalists will certainly intensify their efforts to squeeze the last drop of profit out of the present situation before the downturn comes. These efforts, however, will not "delay the depression," but rather insure that it will be so much the worse when it comes.

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[1] Celeste Strack: "Economic Laws and 'Anti-Depression' Programs" (**Political Affairs**, 11/55).

[2] Strack and Mary Morris: "Is the Economic Cycle Under Control?" (**Political Affairs**, 6/55).

[3] Strack, Norris and the Lapin pieces (**Daily Worker, People's World**).

THE JEANPIERRE CASE

Negro sues anti-discrimination board

NEW YORK STATE's Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) was under legal attack last week by Wendell A. Jeanpierre, who charges that Pan American World Airways refused him a job because he is a Negro. The 32-year-old World War II flying vet and holder of degrees from French universities said in a petition to the State Supreme Court that SCAD, established ten years ago to prevent discrimination in employment, actually sided with the company against him. It is the first suit of its kind against the commission.

Jeanpierre argued that he possesses all the airline's qualifications for probationary flight steward and pointed out that Pan American has never hired a Negro in any flight capacity. He applied for the job in December, 1954; Flight Service Supt. Philip J. Parrott admitted that he was "personable and extremely well qualified" but put him through a grilling emphasizing his race.

Parrott suggested that Jeanpierre would find greater happiness in other employment; on Jan. 2, 1955, he was told he had been rejected because his qualifications were not suited to Pan American's "specialized requirements." In his petition he cites reasons for believing he was turned down because he "was not a member of the white race and therefore unqualified on that ground alone."

COMMISSIONER OUT: He complained to SCAD, but Commissioner Nicholas H. Pinto tried to talk him out of seeking a job with Pan American. Jeanpierre persisted and the commissioner arranged a second interview with the airline, but a panel of Pan American representatives asked him "numerous questions . . . unrelated to the duties or . . . qualifications for a flight steward." Finally he was informed by Pinto that each panel member had rejected him; thereafter Pinto refused all calls by having his secretary declare the commissioner was out whenever Jeanpierre phoned.

Eleven months later SCAD formally notified Jeanpierre that "the evidence is insufficient to warrant a finding that you were rejected because of your race or color," but added:

> "As [Pan American] does not employ any Negro stewards or stewardesses, there is some suspicion that they are not acceptable in such positions."

That statement, Jeanpierre told the court, "was arbitrary, capricious, unreasonable and improper," especially since SCAD refused "to convene either a conference or a hearing to find probable cause that racial discrimination was the basis" of the company's action.

Almost simultaneously with Jeanpierre's suit, Gov. Harriman named former State Housing Administrator Charles Abrams as chairman of SCAD.

MAIL BAG

Again this week, as last week, the GUARDIAN is printing an extra page of letters from an articulate readership. This week the letters range over a wider area than last week's, but they also include many comments on political and economic articles that the GUARDIAN has published in the last months.

Khrushchev's speeches

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"Certain bourgeois papers have a grudge against me for my statements in India and Burma. But I am not speaking here in order to please them. . . . I represent the working people and the Communist Party and have nothing to say in defense of the colonialists. . . . I myself am of a worker's family. In pre-revolutionary Russia I worked for the British, French and other capitalists who had their factories and mines in the Donets Basin, and I know what it is like to work for foreigners. That is why I understand so well your joy at having won your liberation. These are the speeches for which certain bourgeois journalists do not like me. But I shall speak the truth as long as my heart beats."—N. Khrushchev at an official government dinner in Shan State, Burma, Dec. 3, 1955.

Khrushchev's speeches in India and Burma are utterly unlike any speeches in the history of diplomacy, and they do not pretend to be in the field of diplomacy (that was Bulganin's job). Whether delivered to the Indian Parliament or a mass meeting, they are frankly the advice of an experienced revolutionary to less experienced revolutionary comrades who value and admire his country's experience. And they are the appeal of a worker and former semi-colonial to workers, peasants, intellectuals, soldiers, all former colonials—and let the Asian capitalists and landlords think what they may.

Above all, they are the convinced avowal of a Communist that his party's policy of industrialization and collective farming is the only solution for agrarian countries seeking modernization and independence. The Soviet leaders are clearly convinced that there will be no long period of capitalist rule in any of these countries. Otherwise such speeches could only have done damage to Soviet foreign relations.

I am convinced that the incredible mass welcome everywhere (bigger than for Ghandi, Nehru or Independence Day, said the New York Times) and the speeches Khrushchev found it proper to make, make this trip the most important turning point in world affairs since the armies of People's China crossed the Yangtse. Socialism is on the order of the day in Asia, not in the next hundred years, but in this generation. And Asia is no longer neutral. **William Mandel**

Two faces?

CHICAGO, ILL.

The so-called "objective" Chicago Sunday **Times-News**, like the mass news media generally, says (12/12), "The Bear Has Two Faces." To be sure it has—its own and the false one we are presented with. Lord Buck works a 24-hour shift.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

Puzzle

MELROSE, MASS.

Boston **Globe** Dec. 14 headlines: "Ike Plans Billion Defense Hike" and "Smaller Hospitals Thrilled by Ford Gifts." With this news that there is good money in making Ford cars and that war profits are booming comes a question:

Will recipients of the Ford funds in this state be investigated by the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Communism for conspiracy in creating dangerous thoughts as to the possibilities there might be in a peace budget instead of a military one?

Frank Collier

Advice for Syracuse

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Lillian Reiner's Syracuse story of the "clean-cut" young political sleuth so curious about people's opinions and the nationality of their friends should alert public opinion as to the direction some FBI's activities are leading our country. This is not an isolated case, it is standard practice being repeated all over the land.

A nation's secret security agency should properly confine its attention to genuine criminals and to the enemies of our basic liberties. When it departs from this field to barge into homes for the purpose of recruiting one-half the nation to spy on the other half who may be for popular causes, it becomes a sinister invisible power, above society, above the law and beyond the people's control—an instrument of political terror.

Mrs. Reiner invited suggestions. Mine are:

- Refuse to co-operate in establishing a Gestapo system. Answer no questions without counsel.
- Ask your Congressman and especially the Hennings Committee on Civil Liberties, to look into the FBI's intrusion into your private beliefs and associations.

Jeff Patrick

Our own worst enemy

NEW YORK, N. Y.

After the Petran series, the Spectator has brought the discussion about the predicament of the political Lefts even closer to home.

I submit the opinion that we of the Left have not been "forced" to play on the grounds of the enemy. Rather, we chose these grounds ourselves. We voluntarily accepted premises in which we did not believe at first, but have since then accepted with little hesitation. We argued with tyrants according to the rules of the tyrants because we have lost confidence in our own arguments as well as in our own argumentative capacity. If we are frustrated, it has been primarily of our own doing.

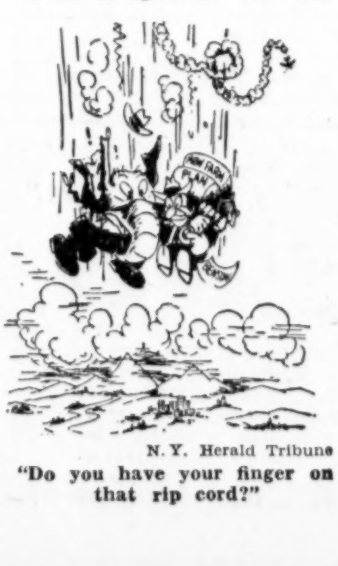
I fully agree with the Spectator that we must assert the right to vigorous dissent and to battle every injustice and for peace without the sanction of any tribunal. Let us rededicate ourselves to our just cause, abandon the position of the accused and once again become the accuser. Let us withdraw from the contest with the legal minds of the enemy on who are the better interpreters of their own laws, and on who appreciate more the greatness and fairness of these laws. Let us gather enough courage and say to the American people that socialism is socialism and not a renovated or new version of Americanism. Let us have enough clarity to inform the American people that the way to achieve socialism may be different for America, but as a science, and as a social philosophy, it is international in character, and cannot be tailored to fit into the concept of Americanism, a thing so vague and confused that even the capitalists themselves cannot successfuly define it. **M. T. C.**

Three-way bouquet

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Tabitha Petran's series was very stimulating and offers many points of agreement with subsequent articles by the Marxist Adam Lapin of our local **People's World** and Celeste Strack in **Political Affairs.** However, the main point of contention is an important one, i.e., whether or not at this point in history it is possible to reform capitalism with or without benefit of Keynes.

I am in agreement with Miss Petran's view that the struggle for reform is bound to move more to the Left from that of the New Deal period. It certainly is opportunistic to predicate it upon a swift and pronounced radicalization of the workers, who will spontaneously move the fight to the arena of socialism, that being admittedly the only real answer and inevitable goal for the American working people. There is some very fine and challenging thinking in the Petran series and this reader is grateful to the GUARDIAN and to her for placing their position so squarely before progressives. The polemics that have ensued are all to the good in a climate that has been much too arid in this respect.

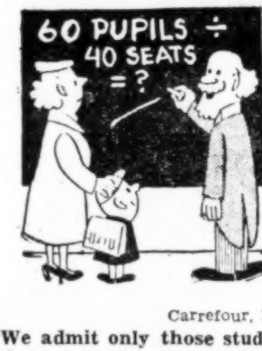


N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Do you have your finger on that rip cord?"

Celeste Strack's analysis and answer to Miss Petran was done in her usual sharp and intelligent manner. On the economic trends and their political consequences, I think Celeste's article more correct. However, she leaves me in considerable doubt as to the form of political organization necessary for our times. The hard lessons of recent third party failures cannot all be so easily blamed on labor and the working class. Rather, the blunders that were made by the Left-progressives within the coalition bear the main responsibility.

We must get over the idea that we can tell "labor" what to do—which brings me to James Allen's fine article "Democratic Revival" in Masses and Mainstream. This article should be the basis for education and re-education of the Marxists and other honest progressives.



60 PUPILS ÷ 40 SEATS = ?

Carrefour, Paris

"We admit only those students whose parents can answer this question."

To revive the truly democratic tradition, we must master the real meaning of democracy—both the capitalist and socialist kinds. Too few Marxists have real knowledge of the socialist kind and an almost anarchistic disbelief in the capitalist kind as expressed in its better forms in what James Allen calls our best national tradition.

First then, Mr. Allen, we must educate and re-educate the Marxists in the living principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—also including Mao Tse-tung—and in the living principles of Roger Williams, Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglas, Eugene Debs, Carrie Chapman Catt and others. If this were done, the fusion would be inescapable.

My hearty respect and gratitude to Miss Petran, Celeste Strack and James Allen for once again opening up these questions—it's like a fresh San Francisco breeze! I shall look forward to more discussion.

R. R.

No illusions

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

Read with interest Tabitha Petran's economic analysis. Agree with some points of it—disagree with others. I especially disagree in that it was a disguised (or otherwise) call for a third party—socialist in content. I still think now is not the time for this type of political action, and certainly not a full-force party. It would tend to isolate the progressives from the mass of the people and would render the progressives impotent in giving leadership toward the peaceful aspirations of the people. I would much rather see them take a real stand in the Democratic Party, and I have no illusions about the Dems.

Ann Medic

Melt the ice

CEDAREDGE, COLO.

It seems to me we should have a convention, but not primarily or necessarily in order to form a third party. Those of us who can no longer vote for Tweedle-dum or Tweedle-dee need to meet, to think and talk together. Our ability to think, talk and act is buried under successive layers of ice—the ice of distortions and lies. We need the light and warmth of reality and faith. We need the straight thinking and assurance of thousands of people who have not spoken for a long time. We need to be thawed out of our immobility, to find direction before we begin to move.

I think this direction must be toward socialism. It is too late, isn't it, historically speaking, to try to form a third party that isn't socialist? What we need, I think, is a good, hard core of scientific socialism for people to gather round as they start to think and talk once more. We need to look frankly at our past mistakes and hostilities, acknowledge them and start again, now, in the current situation.

Marjorie Brown

For a new party

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We wish to take sharp issue with those who repeat endlessly that the people of the U.S. are not ready for a mass third party. This impression is based on the weakness and defeats suffered by the Progressive Party. There were so many mistakes made in the preparation and in the building of that movement that it simply is not an accurate yardstick to measure the political maturity of the American people. We can learn from those mistakes but we must not blame the mistakes of leadership on the rank and file or we will learn nothing.

The new party, to serve the interest of the wage workers, small business people, farm workers and small farmers—that is, the majority of the people—should be built so that these people actually will control the program, policies, candidates and elected officials of the organizations. It is not easy to imagine politics without back-door agreements, betrayals and trickery in America, but our new party, to inspire confidence and the wholehearted will and devotion that it must have to make rapid headway, must be a new kind of party completely loyal to the interests of and under the control of the common people. **R. W.**

Pants with one leg

SPOKANE, WASH.

Paul Butler, chairman of the Democratic Natl. Committee, has announced that national Republican and Democratic leaders are now planning a bipartisan fund raising campaign for the 1956 election.

There the two old parties stand as one—a political sphinx.

This situation surely should cause embarrassment among liberals and so-called progressives caught out in the open, as they certainly are, without suspenders to their bipartisan pants. **Albert Strout**

For positive action

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Early in December, Alexander Wright, Regional Director of the Progressive Party of Western Pa., turned informer and testified for the FBI in a Smith Act trial in Cleveland. In his testimony he said he has been a paid FBI informer for the last 13 years and for his work received $27,000.

The P.P. in the last elections in Philadelphia nominated Hank Beitscher for city council. Signatures to put him on the ballot were collected at the cost of much time and effort by a loyal few. Yet Beitscher, head of the P.P. of all Pa., withdrew from the race before voting time for some vague expediency, such as "the Democrats were the lesser of two evils."

As a result of these two hammer blows, the P.P. in both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, in fact in the whole of Pa., is dead—stone dead as a political force, perhaps even as a political idea.

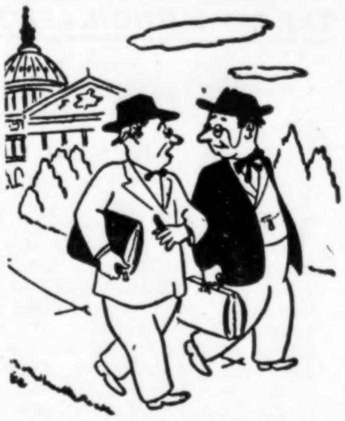
I could eulogize the P.P. for its past valiant performance, but this is now ancient history. The point is this: Although the P.P. is defunct, the progressives, namely the little people behind the P.P., are still alive and kicking. The questions which you must put to your readers is "Where to now?" Are we to capitulate to J. Edgar Hoover and his Nazi, fear-ridden mentality because of an insidious Alexander Wright? Are we to lay down and be trampled by the "Democratic" jackasses such as Truman and Stevenson? Or are we to forge our hopes and dreams into positive political planks—nay, girders—to span the reactionary gulf to the other side—to peace, freedom and security? **Name withheld**

The inspiration

COVINGTON, LA.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is sending out requests for signatures to a petition to be sent to Sen. Thoms. C. Hennings Jr., chairman of the Senate sub-committee on Constitutional Rights, asking that the sub-committee hold hearings in Mississippi. They would be held in order that the constitutional rights of the citizens of Mississippi, now being violated by the people in power in Mississippi, should be protected and the violators punished.

It is something of a consolation that such an organization should be in New Orleans. The signers of the petition are, many of them, rather prominent people in New Orleans. But I do not know what can be done. Protection of the citizens (since they know they will be murdered if they dare to register, not only if they dare to vote) will be very difficult. It will necessitate the removal of practically every judge, district attorney and sheriff in Mississippi.



"I'd hate to have to go out and make a living under those laws we just passed."

—Cartoon from "The Coffee Break," a volume of cartoons selected by Charles Preston from the "Wall Street Journal." 94 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.95.

It will also necessitate the "uncowing" of all those who may be jurors, for the jurors are not only themselves usually prejudiced, but also cowed by the white citizenry in power. Every juryman knows that if he does not acquit the lynchers he, himself, will have to flee the South or will himself be lynched. Besides the lack of any strong group in the South working to cleanse the South, there is a lack of any such really strong group in the Federal government.

Stevenson is not the only would-be member of the Federal government who does not want to lose the votes of Dixiecrats. The capitalists in the North now moving their investments South do not want free, just governments in the South. They want governments which maintain a servile, cowed class of labor possible to so terrify and divide that effective unionizing is made impossible.

I confess I have not much hope for the immediate future, and I am 80. But Dr. Du Bois is 85 and he has not given up. He is the inspiration. **Anna Melissa Graves**

Wash.-Ore. readers, note

GRESHAM, ORE.

Out here in the West, a domestic tragedy which will enlist the interest and sympathy of every progressive person has just overtaken the family of John MacKenzie. On Saturday, Dec. 10, while Mr. MacKenzie with his wife and five children were dining out, his house in Portland burned to the ground, with very little saved. A fellow alumnus of mine from Reed College, Mr. MacKenzie is presently appealing from a contempt sentence meted out to him as a result of the visit of the Velde (House Un-American Activities) Committee to Portland in the summer of 1954. The fire that destroyed his home destroyed also the very considerable library amassed over the years.

Neighbors and friends have come forward with some of the basic necessities, but books which would have meant so much not only to the parents, but to five children all under 13, are gone.

Will readers who can, send their extra or duplicate books to John MacKenzie at 4622 S.E. Woodstock, Portland, Ore.? Incidentally, Mrs. MacKenzie, a puppeteer, lost all the puppets. Although the family does not know what their future plans for a home will be, Barbara MacKenzie is happy because her five children are safe.

We say this family is made of sterner stuff!

Margaret Jean Schuddakopf

Mrs. Schuddakopf, a Tacoma (Wash.) schoolteacher, was suspended 8/31/54 for using the 5th Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing referred to in her letter. On 12/23/55 the suspension was lifted by the Wash. state superintendent of public instruction. Tacoma authorities intend to appeal the state ruling in Superior Court. Mrs. Schuddakopf is presently secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action at Gresham, Ore.

THE REVOLUTION REACHES INTO TIBET — IV

How they saved the cities in the great glacier floods

By Israel Epstein

(Last of a series)

GYANGTSE, TIBET

THE NEW ROADS IN ONCE ROADLESS TIBET do not stop at Lhasa. By the late autumn of 1955, they had been pushed hundreds of miles further. They now reach Shigatse, seat of the Panchen Lama who is the co-pontiff of Tibetan Buddhism; Gyangtse, with its famed carpet-weavers, fortress and memories of courageous battles against imperialism; and Pari near the border of friendly India.

We traveled these new routes along most of their length, skirting 24,000-ft. Mt. Chomoganga, crossing the wide Brahmaputra and descending into the flat, cultivated valley of the Nyang River. Everywhere we witnessed the same stirrings of the new that we had seen in places nearer to interior China. Here, however, I want to tell of something else—of how the new saved two ancient cities from death.

THE NEW ELEMENT: On July 26, 1954, millions of tons of ice broke away from a great glacier and fell into Sangwo Lake at the headwaters of the Nyang. The lake burst its banks and at 3 o'clock the next morning a wall of water 25 feet high hit sleeping Gyangtse, carrying away hundreds of homes and drowning most of their occupants. Moving through the countryside and destroying farms, villages, crops and cattle, it reached Shigatse in broad daylight. Here, though it did great damage, it fortunately took few lives—because the people could see to get away.

In the past, in an economy as mediaeval as Tibet's, it would have taken scores and perhaps hundreds of years for cities to rally from such a blow—if indeed they ever did. The high plateau is dotted with the ruins of settlements which, after much lesser catastrophes, failed altogether to recover. But when we came to the scene, less than a year and a half later, one could see hardly a sign of the great calamity. In worst-hit Gyangtse, four-fifths of the destroyed houses had been rebuilt. Shigatse, in addition to complete reconstruction, had acquired the first public housing in its history—where people who had been left homeless were living rent-free. The reason for the amazing resurrection: unstinted help from the Chinese people and government.

A DIFFERENT ARMY: In sun-baked Shigatse, with its towering castle and great Tashi Lumpo monastery, the sturdy 47-year old boatman Topden Gyabo told us about that terrible day. Walking through the old marketplace, he had heard shouts and seen what seemed to be a high dust-cloud at the end of the street. Within a few minutes, the "cloud" came nearer—a mass of water in which he could make out house beams, trees, dead men and animals. With others, he ran uphill in terror, and there met People's Liberation Army men who were calm and purposeful. Within less than an hour, they had organized a score of Tibetan boatmen with their willow-framed skin coracles that can carry eight men apiece, and Topden Gyabo was rowing through the flood, picking up stranded men and women who had sought safety on trees. Rapidly, other boats were mobilized from outside the city. The army guarded all salvaged household effects until they were claimed, immediately began to issue grain and tenting materials from its own stores, and distributed sweaters and other garments personally donated by officers and men.

Topden Gyabo lost his own boat during the flood, but the army gave him another along with an inscribed portrait of Chairman Mao for his good work. "The oldest men say there hasn't been such a flood for hundreds of years," this craggy-faced, heavy-muscled riverman said to us. "And for thousands of years no one has heard of such soldiers."

HOW LIFE CAME BACK: What happened later we learned from Sonam Dorje, a peasant in the suburbs who lost a small son, his house, his crops and all his farm animals. He too was in the city when it happened, and made his way home amid incredible difficulties to find the other 14 members of his big family weeping and hungry in the bare hills. On the fourth day, when the water had subsided and they had almost given up hope, Chinese and Tibetan civil servants came from Shigatse with news of huge relief grants from the government. They questioned all the villagers as to their losses. They then gave out vouchers entitling every person to 13 lbs. of grain, to be collected immediately from monastery and other local stores, for which the People's Liberation Army had arranged to pay.

Sonam Dorje (above). He once lived another life.

★

(R.) The castle at Shigatse. At its feet the flood swirled.

Dorje and his family interrupted each other in excitement as they pointed to three padded jackets worn by various members of the household, and told how Chinese soldiers had given them off their own backs in that time of extremity. They then told of how three of them had earned the incredible sum (for Tibet) of some US $3.00 a day for work on the new Shigatse-Gyangtse road that winter, and of how the army had brought in grain, tea, butter and new farm animals for them to buy at low prices. Finally, Dorje took us proudly around his field, with the just-garnered crop of wheat and barley standing in neat golden sheaves. "I planted it with seed we got from the government in the spring," he said:

> "When the free distribution was announced I asked for only a little because I was afraid to put in for too much—but they themselves raised the amount after asking what I had planted last year. We don't want a single inch of farmland to remain unsown this year, they said. I sowed every inch."

WORDLESS HERO: We talked to this peasant in the house he had rebuilt more solidly than before, with the proceeds of an easy-repayment loan. And with loans and the crops of his big family he has replaced his animals, five yaks, three **dzo** (a hybrid with the ordinary cow which is stronger and yields more milk) and a flock of sheep.

Later I talked to a modest young Chinese soldier named Chou who had been cited for heroism in the rescues. The flood had caught him and his comrades while they were attending a company discussion meeting. Not many minutes afterwards, he had swum into the raging torrent to save an old grandmother, two young women and a child from the upper floor of their tottering adobe house. "When I saw them I thought I was a member of the People's Liberation Army, so how could I hold my head up if I didn't help the people out of danger," he said simply. "Besides, my own home is by the Yellow River. I know what floods are. Also I can swim pretty well." I couldn't get this untalkative young man to say much more. He obviously thought this was enough for any sensible newsman to grasp the whole matter. And after having seen a good deal of this army, it was.

THE NEW CHINESE: From Shigatse we drove on to Gyantse along 60 miles or so of the road the flood victims had built, a thing in Tibet, because it goes over fairly flat country. It ran just where the flood had passed, but with the crops and cottages one would hardly know it. The trip took less than two hours, instead of the three days travel that had separated the two cities for centuries.

Dominating Gyangtse is the famed citadel where in 1904, Tibetan defenders, with only matchlocks and swords, sustained a two-month siege by British regiments. Within its battered walls, still showing the breaches then made by Colonel Younghusband's artillery, a 65-year old eyewitness of those days, Sonam Namzu, made both history and the present live.

Sonam Namzu's face was hard and bitter as he recalled how Younghusband had dishonored a flag of truce, and the havoc the invaders had wrought in the city afterwards. It turned contemptuous as he referred to the inaction of the then Chinese government (of the Manchu emperors) which was too flabby and sold to foreign interests to help the Tibetans. Then it lit up as he told of how the effects of last year's flood were overcome with the unbelievable brotherly help of the "new Chinese." The results could be seen in the reconstructed city that lay, stretching from the foot of the citadel to the golden-and-white pagoda, hundreds of feet beneath us.

THE REAL VICTORY: Here was a panoramic view indeed to the fortunes of "the roof of the world" and its peoples, under the old Chinese feudal rulers, under the menace of imperialism, and as part of the People's Republic of China.

That evening we interviewed Yin Fa-tang, slim, shock-haired secretary of the Gyangtse working committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Not yet 30, by his looks, he had led the local authorities and people in the vast task of relief and rehabilitation. His answers to our many questions were packed with concrete and living detail. But one remark he made seems to sum it all up:

> "It was hard to organize food, shelter and work. But that wasn't the heart of the job. The real victory was that we managed to dispel shock and apathy, to rouse and maintain hope."

McCALL COUNTRY

The Platts stand guard in Florida

WHEN FLORIDA Circuit Judge Truman G. Futch last October ruled that Allen Platt's children had a right to attend a Lake County white school, Platt exclaimed: "I feel like I am living in America again!" Seven months earlier he had sued to compel admittance of four daughters and a son. Platt said his family is of Irish-Croatian-American Indian origin. The children had been expelled, without a hearing, in October, 1954. Futch's ruling was immediately appealed by the county school board to the Florida Supreme Court, thus further delaying the children's re-entry.

The case arose out of Sheriff Willis V. McCall's barring the Platt children because, "in my book, they're nigras, and it's my duty to enforce the laws of Florida." The Florida law separating Negro and white public school children had already been superseded by the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, ruling.

The St. Petersburg, Fla., **Times** (10/28) in reviewing McCall's career charged him with responsibility for

> ". . . such outrages as the burning of Negro homes in Lake County during the famous Groveland rape case, the desecration of Mable Norris Reese's newspaper office during the [early days of the] Platt case [when Mrs. Reese defended the Platts in her weekly Mt. Dora **Topic**], and the intimidation of a landlord who gave succor to the Platts."

A CROSS IS BURNED: The sheriff's doings were brought up to date last month. Allen Platt told Mrs. Reese that a gang had burned a Ku Klux Klan cross in his yard and tried to burn his home. Mrs. Reese notified both Gov. LeRoy Collins and McCall. The sheriff demanded angrily of Platt: "Why didn't you phone me, instead of that woman?" Platt replied: "I've got more justice from Mrs. Reese than from you." McCall thereupon left it to the Platts to protect themselves. Gov. Collins in a public statement said lawlessness in Lake County was jeopardizing "the good name" of the whole state.

Allen Platt and his three sons now stand guard over their home a few miles outside Mt. Dora. A home-made floodlight covers a wooded path leading to the rear door. Platt told reporters: "We have two shotguns, and we will use them if we have to."

Mrs. Laura Platt said: "I've been in a lot of places, but this is the most awful!"

THREE HEADLINES IN AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER

What they're making, how they're living in Czechoslovakia

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS arriving here show disturbing distortion of news from Czechoslovakia. Three such stories recently appeared in the N. Y. **Times**—a paper that boasts of and enjoys an international reputation for "unbiased" reporting based on "balanced" stories sent by its correspondents. Since these stories have brought parcels of flour and lard not needed here, and distressed inquiries from the U. S., they require comment.

The three **Times** headlines read: "OUTPUT DOUBLED IN CZECH INDUSTRY" (11/18); CZECH LIVING COSTS FOUND TO BE HIGH; Evidence Indicates Average Citizen Lives More Poorly Than Before the War" (11/16); "TWO EXPATRIATES WANT TO RETURN" (10/30). This article can do no more than point out the chief distortions and set the facts straight.

NOT 8% BUT 224%: The first article has a correct headline. But the second paragraph says:

> "An official statement said recently that industrial production rose 50% during the last five years, output of heavy engineering equipment increasing by 8%."

No such official statement could have been made, since heavy engineering increased more than industry as a whole. Actually, during the first Five Year Plan industrial output increased by 102% and heavy engineering by 224%.

Later on in the article the fact of no war production at the huge Skoda works in Pilsen is turned into speculation that Slovakia's industrialization "is designed to shift the military industry from western to eastern sites." Thus the industrialization of a previously poverty-stricken area is turned into a sinister and secret preparation for war. The article bemoans the rapid development of industry in Czechoslovakia as

> ". . . transformation of the economy from a balance of agriculture, heavy industry and consumer goods output to one concentrating on heavy industries."

SEMI-FEUDAL "BALANCE": This is absurd. The emphasis on heavy industry is precisely in order to lay the basis for the mechanization of agriculture and the increase of consumer goods. The old Czech and Slovak economies were unbalanced. The Czech economy overemphasized the production of consumer goods for export, such as jewelry, fancy glass and textiles; it suffered terribly from frequent world market breakdowns. Slovakia had the "balance" of a semi-feudal colony.

Now there is an insatiable demand abroad for the engineering and other products of Czechoslovak industry; these are used to buy food and other consumer goods to increase living standards. Consumer goods' sales went up by nearly 20% last year.

OFFICIAL DATA IGNORED: The article alleging a decline in living standards pretends to compare pre-war with the present. This "balancinng" of the news charges the present government with all the loss and destruction during the Nazi occupation and World War II. Why not measure the changes since 1945?

Even so, the article arrives at its conclusion only by ignoring all official data regarding wage rates, employment and prices. It uses instead the device of the visiting journalist quoting "a qualified foreign resident." From his own private survey the "resident" arrived at the "balanced" conclusion that a family of five would have to work **300** hours **more** a month to afford a pre-war living standard. Since a normal worker puts in about 200 hours a month, the babies here must be washing each others' diapers to add to the family's quota of hours.

REAL INCOME IS UP: Middle class families do work harder to maintain a pre-war standard. When the living standard of hundreds of thousands of Slovak peasants and Moravian mountain highlanders is doubled and tripled, someone has to foot the bill. And those having to share out naturally get the ear of the foreign correspondent. This situation will persist until labor productivity in both industry and agriculture has risen sufficiently—and it has been steadily rising.

Actually wage rates and prices, after the series of money reforms to correct the war inflation, are back generally to about the pre-war ratios. But with declining unemployment and an increasing number of women at work, the **average** real family income is about 50% above 1937.

The "foreign resident" ignored this published data:

- Annual per capita meat consumption rose by 29.2 pounds from 1948 to 1954, wheat flour by 102 pounds, sugar by about 23 pounds.
- Increased per capita clothing consumption is greater than food, and durable goods even higher. Czechoslovakians, for example, have bought a million new radios.

HOW LONG FOR GLASSES? The whole development of medical care for working people—care which only the pre-war rich could buy—is dismissed in the **Times** article by having a "young man" the reporter encountered allege he had waited six months for a pair of glasses. One Wheeler youngster exclaimed:

> "For Gosh sakes—boys at school get glasses in one day—and free, too."

With the routine free service, the Wheeler family has had prescriptions for glasses filled in four to six days. The article ignored published data regarding the improved health of Czechoslovakians. For example, the death rate per thousand persons declined from 14.1 in 1946 to 10.4 in 1954.

By a similar technique of "balancing," it could be reported that Czechoslovakia has no housing problems because four Wheeler friends moved into new flats recently. But there **is** a housing problem, and will be for a long time. This does not mean, however, as the **Times** article concluded, that the housing situation has deteriorated.

THE DEMAND IS HIGH: Before the war, the apartment vacancy rate was 20% in Prague, with no housing problem according to "Western" standards. During and immediately after the war the population declined by about 20%. Yet, instead of a housing surplus, there has been an acute shortage despite the construction of tens of thousands of new flats. The reason is that rents are now so low in relation to wages that demand for better housing is practically limitless.

But it will take a diligent search to find whole families living in one room—as was the case with hundreds of thousands of farmer and worker families in the pre-war "balanced" economy. The present housing problem arises from progress, not decline.

WHEELERS AND CORTS: The "expatriates" story was evidently "balanced" in New York. It was a complete distortion of the original interview with the Wheelers and with Drs. Joseph and Ruth Cort. They are the young American couple to whom Prague gave political asylum when the British government, despite wide public protest, refused them political sanctuary (GUARDIAN, 7/12/54). Joseph Cort, for example, was not a "draft dodger," as the article claimed; before going to England to teach and do research, he had registered with his draft board and was twice rejected for medical reasons.

A PICNIC ON THE DANUBE

This Czech family takes its lunch on Slav Day, at the foot of the rocks which saw the beginnings of the nation's recorded history.

Cort and Wheeler had said during the interview that all political refugees were involuntarily away from home, that they wanted to return when political conditions changed and they could work in their profession without being blacklisted by the FBI.

ACROBATICS IN THE NEWS: As reason for the Wheelers' alleged desire to return home, the article asserted that their 20-year-old son "may be faced with Czech military service," thereby losing his American citizenship. The Wheelers in fact told the interviewer that both their sons had been excused from military training precisely because they are American citizens. The article did not see fit to print the fact that the Wheelers and the Corts lived comfortably, enjoyed their useful work and a rich, cultural life.

Americans are not the only victims of news acrobatics. An intelligent W. German woman, visiting relatives here, found it difficult to adjust to the reality of drinking **real** coffee and seeing the crowds of people shopping in stores.

"But mother," she was told, "we wrote you in detail how we were living!"

"Yes, I know," she said, "but I thought you **had** to write that!"

SOVIET ENVOY REACHES BONN

Valerian A. Zorin, former ambassador to Prague and first Soviet ambassador to W. Germany, arrives at the Bonn airport with his wife. The U.S. press made derisive noises about Mrs. Zorin's "capitalist" mink coat. They no doubt expected her to affect a plain Republican cloth coat like Mrs. Richard Nixon's. You remember that campaign coat which was so prominent in Dick Nixon's soap opera about all that California cash he found himself saddled to back in 1952.

He's never given in

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, one of America's most distinguished pacifists, has never ceased his campaign against the war system. No one who heard him, on the eve of the first World War, declare that his parish house or church would never be used for a recruiting station has ever forgotten the sermon at Community Church, New York, in which he made that assertion. Recently, in a sermon at that church, where he occasionally preaches since his retirement, he spoke on the theme, "Has the turn in the tide come?" Emphasizing that there is "a new atmosphere of trust and goodwill," Dr. Holmes lauded President Eisenhower for his persistent efforts toward peace. "When he stands to address people, it is to pledge himself and his administration to bring the nations of the earth more closely together, and not to push them still farther apart." This was spoken before the President's Christmas message, as he lighted the tree for peace, again stressing his own position. In a characteristic declaration, Dr. Holmes said that the concept "to end war we must be prepared for war is a paradox, in essence a bit of nonsense worthy not of serious statesmanship but of Gilbert and Sullivan at their best. It has been perfectly evident that to prepare for war in terms of armament is to get, sooner or later, what we prepare for, namely war. . . . Best of all is the real progress of the United Nations toward its goal of peace." Dr. Holmes is one outstanding American who has never given in to the rampant American fear of the past few years.

—**The Churchman, Jan. 1, 1956.**

BELFRAGE LOOKS TO A TALK WITH HER MAJESTY ON THE COLONIES

The freedom train is rolling in England

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

EVER SINCE ELIZABETH II casually mailed me a passport to go wherever I like, after my Washington-curtained years (in the last two of which I couldn't even get a passport for Connecticut) I have been prejudiced in Her Britannic Majesty's favor. On Christmas Day I was all ready by my radio for her talk to her people.

Before she came on there had been the delight—with ironic chuckles—of hearing two musical dramatizations of a rural American Christmas. For this the BBC's New York office had recruited just the right performers: the Weavers, Burl Ives and Josh White. On the news we had heard the Pope's call to stop tests and use of atomic weapons, coupled with the assertion that "genuine co-existence with communism" is "a dream." The effect of this was confusing although the Pope was less so, and more Christmassy, than the Archbishop of Canterbury who had favored the H-bomb "as a deterrent" and added: "When it is used it is absolutely useless."

THE ROYAL BUTTON: After the comforting news that Moslem troops had replaced British during the goodwill season on the Malayan bandit-killing front, Elizabeth did her stuff. Her task, of course, is the unenviable one of expressing no view at all at the risk of being unfrocked. At best she can point a direction by her choice of theme and emphasis. One simply could not know whether she gave a thought to Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus and S. Africa, as she spoke of the "free commonwealth" and its "devotion to freedom, equality before the law, parliamentary government" and need to "pool the resources of each for the benefit of all." But in her stress on colonial peoples and the boundless horizons science is opening out for all humanity, she certainly hit our times on the button.

The longer I sojourn in this ancient seat of imperialism, the more impressed I am by one thing: the blithering idiocy of those statesmen who continue to act and talk as if "Western civilization" were the world's center of gravity. The spotlight has moved away from them and their white pomposities ever since Bandung, which future historians may mark as the decisive event of 1955 even more than the first Geneva conference.

WITHOUT PERMISSION: 1955 was the year in which more than half of the world's population, without asking a single white man's permission, met and said flatly that colonialism was dead. The British and French colonial offices, whose propagandists chatter endlessly of non-white peoples' terror of "losing face," will remember it red-faced as the year when the Kabaka of Buganda and the Sultan of Morocco—who were "never to be allowed to return"—were returned.

The tide moves relentlessly. In the year's last week we saw two groups of non-whites, representing different elements in Malaya, sitting down together to talk peace while the whites counted their tin ingots outside. Britain's toriest paper, the **Daily Telegraph**, asks whether in Cyprus we should not "now seek a way out, even with loss of prestige to ourselves." With the 14,000 British troops living in the "armed camp" which is Cyprus "in a state of day and night defense," the situation is beginning to recall the sad old times in Palestine and Egypt "where troops were more occupied with their own defense behind barbed wire than in carrying out their proper duties." Under martial law boys of 16 and 17 are being arrested every day for acts punishable by hanging. Do we hang them and arouse a further "storm of criticism," ponders the **Telegraph**—or do we lose face?

LOSE THAT FACE: That those who think in "face-saving" terms must lose a lot more of it for the health of all—and quickly—is the theme of one of the liveliest organizations on Britain's political scene. Born just a year before Bandung, the Movement for Colonial Freedom is putting all the cards on the table in front of the British people. For generations they have remained ignorant of, and therefore disinterested in, what went on in their own empire. But the MCF finds that the people do want to know more than the weekly tally of "bandits" liquidated in Kenya and Malaya, and it is giving it to them. Pointing to Kenya's average white and African earnings of $1,848 and $76, they ask: "Is it any wonder that the Mau Mau movement developed?" Pointing to the cost of fighting futile wars against the colonial peoples' determination to be free—$280,000,000 a year in Malaya alone—they ask:

> "Who profits? Why not, by spending that money on dams, hospitals, schools and agricultural research centers, create a demand for the things we want to sell?"

THIS WAS A SCENE AT THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE
And nobody even asked the white folks whether they could convene

HOW MCF WORKS: In less than two years, here are some of the methods the MCF has developed to get the facts known in Britain:

- Subcommittees meeting fortnightly or monthly on S.E. Asia, E. and Central Africa, W. Africa, N. Africa, S. Africa and Protectorates, and the Caribbean area to keep pace with developments and recommend action. Of these, Labour MP's—72 of whom are MCF sponsors—are the nucleus; visitors from the colonial countries are regularly invited to sit in.
- A fund for educational projects, etc., dispensed by a Practical Aid Committee which gets "reject" books (normally pulped) from British libraries and sends them overseas by the bale.
- A daily tattoo of questions in Parliament on colonial issues. As many as 75 of these sometimes appear on the order paper in a single day. This gadfly role keeps both the government and the overseas administrators on their toes, "makes the Colonial Office do the research." MCF-sponsored questions forced the government to publicize, for example, that in Kenya less than ⅓ of all executions are for murder, and that school expenditure is $96 per European child and $6.30 per African child.
- Frequent public meetings with poster parades through London: in recent weeks one on Cyprus in Hyde Park, one on Malaya in Trafalgar Square. Providing other organizations with speakers such as Joseph Murumbi, former gen. secy. of the Kenya African Union (who was recently denied a U.S. visa).
- Distributing simple, striking fact-sheets on British and other colonies (also an excellent one on Guatemala), and questions for voters to put to their MP's.

FREEDOM TRAIN: Using these practical methods, the MCF has taken hold in a big way. Affiliated with it are eight national trade unions, 150 constituency Labour Parties, 70 trade union branches, 19 trades councils, 47 Co-Operative parties and other organizations, bringing its affiliate membership to more than three million. All these have joined its "great crusade" for independence for all peoples now, technical aid without exploitation, and universal application of the Human Rights Declaration "especially for the abolition of the color bar." Since "sooner or later the colonial peoples must win their rights," says the MCF, the time to stop "driving them into the desperation of violence" is now.

From its poky third-floor office in one of those majestically crumbling houses near Kings Cross station (374 Grays Inn Rd., London WC 1) the MCF has started a freedom train speeding down the track with history flashing a green light. Gen. secy. Douglas G. Rogers and Central Council member Murumbi told me last week about one of the unlikely persons who are getting on board. Last year the MCF sponsored a debate on "Should the British Empire Be Liquidated?" On the negative side appeared an executive for a big Tory firm who had a three-year reputation as a pro-Empire speaker. Rogers and Murumbi don't know how many of the audience were convinced of the MCF stand, but they know there was one. Today that pro-Empire speaker is chairman of the MCF's London Area Council. He has also, incidentally, been fired by his firm.

Some day I hope to get together with Her Majesty over a couple of drinks and draw her out on all these matters. Off the record, of course. I wouldn't want her to be fired.

"WITHOUT DANGER"

New polio vaccine developed in France

AN ANTI-POLIO vaccine which can be used "without danger" has been developed by the Pasteur Institute in Paris and is ready for general use. This was announced by the Institute's Prof. Lépine before leaving for the international conference on anti-polio vaccination recently in Stockholm under auspices of the World Health Organization.

At the conference the world's top polio specialists discussed the various vaccines that have been developed to determine which is the most effective and least dangerous in light of such experiences as that of the U.S. with the Salk vaccine.

Experiments with the Pasteur Institute's vaccine on animals and on selected groups of children have been carried on for the past year. Lépine said its essential quality consisted in the purety of the "killed" virus used, having regard to the particular form of virus which in France attacks the respiratory system. The Institute regarded the "killed" virus formula as the easiest and most quickly realizable, although it admitted that only a brief immunity resulted and the injections had to be repeated. Systematic, general and non-controlled vaccinations were not practical in view of the risk of re-infection. These risks, he said, were increased by the fact that a population already heavily vaccinated did not possess the specific neutralizing antibodies.

Lépine felt that injection with live virus which would give definite immunity would be the method of the future, but that at present there is no way of guaranteeing its harmlessness.

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Amnesty

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Had Hitler surrendered
To the West
They'd free him now
And apologize
For false arrest

L. G.

THE NEW HAVEN SMITH ACT TRIAL

A Brownell production opens out of town

By Milly Salwen

Special to the Guardian

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

NEW HAVEN, the scene of many out-of-town openings for Broadway shows, is just another road company stop on the Smith Act circuit. But some things have already developed that aren't in the script.

The 11th Smith Act trial against Communist leaders opened here Oct. 14, with some veteran performers. The star informer is still John Lautner, who travels coast-to-coast for Taft-Hartley, Smith Act and deportation cases. William C. O'Donnell 3d, roving Justice Dept. attorney who did the job on Claude Lightfoot in Chicago and Junius Scales in South Carolina, is handling the case here.

The local U.S. Attorney, Simon S. Cohen, has apparently been demoted to little more than errand boy: he is permitted to read the long stretches from books and documents that form the bulk of the case. But it is lanky, confident O'Donnell who slams his pencil down in vexation when the mild-mannered judge, Robert P. Anderson, upholds an occasional defense objection.

MARTHA STONE ASHER

She's known in Textile Valley

THE JURY PANEL: O'Donnell's role, here as elsewhere, is a gauge of Washington's desire to hold a tight grip on Smith Act trials, and not permit any local case to be swayed by a thaw in the cold war.

In New Haven, this could be a problem. On the jury panel were an NAACP leader, and two prominent Quaker women: Mrs. Frances B. Blanchard, wife of a philosophy professor, and Mrs. Roland H. Bainton, whose husband is with the Yale Divinity School. None made the jury—but an ex-Klansman and a woman who attended an Elizabeth Bentley lecture did.

Early in the case the prosecution was jolted by some of that Connecticut Yankee spirit: the judge threw out the indictments against the seven local defendants on the grounds that the Grand Jury had been improperly drawn. He also dismissed an eighth indictment against Mrs. Martha Stone Asher, N. J. Communist Party chairman and a national CP committee member, who had been charged under the membership clause of the Smith Act.

ALL INDICTED AGAIN: Within days another Grand Jury re-indicted all eight. This time, the membership charge against Martha Stone was dropped. Instead, her case was bundled into "the Connecticut package"; this compelled her to make the 100-mile trip every weekend, leaving her husband and 10-year-old son home in Newark, N. J.

The only woman on trial here, she is also the only national CP leader. In her home state, she is widely known for 20 years' work organizing the mills along Textile Valley, dating from the great Passaic strike of the '20s.

The New Haven Eight

THESE are the New Haven defendants:

Sidney Taylor, Conn. C.P. chairman; Alfred L. Marder and Sidney S. Resnick, both printers, and Joseph Dimow, machinist, all of New Haven; Jack Goldring, carpenter, of Bridgeport; James S. Tate, contractor and salesman of Hartford; Robert C. Ekins of Old Saybrook; and Mrs. Martha Stone Asher of Newark, Jersey CP chairman.

The Conn. Volunteers for Civil Rights, 23 Temple St., New Haven, Conn., has been organized to gather support and funds for the case.

The other defendants, men in their 30's to mid-40's, were working when they were indicted, and—rare in these cases—not one was fired after the publicity. In fact, two of them, James S. Tate of Hartford, only Negro on trial here, still works as a salesman on weekends, and Sidney S. Resnick of New Haven puts in an occasional night and weekend at his printer's trade.

Another defendant, sculptor Robert Champion Ekins of Old Saybrook, spent an off-day during the trial reporting on the CP program for emergency flood relief, at a State Senate hearing in Hartford.

THE DEFENSE TEAM: Growing concern in legal circles about the Smith Act was shown this fall when the state Bar Assn. assessed each member $5 to help pay the six court-appointed lawyers, one of them the son of the head of the New Haven Bar Assn. Two others, Frank Donner of New York and Miss Catherine G. Roranback have been retained by the defense.

They make a vigorous team, fighting to see that these defendants are tried as individuals, for their acts. O'Donnell presses for his informers' "right to testify on opinion material." To this, court-appointed attorney Edward Seltzer retorted, "This is the key question. Up to now it's been up to the government" to prove guilt.

NEXT WEEK

The GUARDIAN next week will carry an analysis of the French elections. The returns were incomplete at presstime for this issue.

But thought control trials have new ground rules: they depend on books and informers to interpret them.

The two months of trial have produced tons of books, a million words of transcript, and four witnesses. Lautner, on the stand for a month, admitted that he knew only one defendant, Martha Stone, whom he says he saw at weekly meetings "for a period of time from 1933—the fall of 1933 up to about—well . . . the spring of '35."

LOVED HAWAII: He conceded that much of the program in the 108-year-old Communist Manifesto—free schools, graduated income taxes, child labor laws—are commonplace in America today, without the use of "force and violence," those key words in the government's case.

Lautner's job of informing has netted him $32,000 so far. He said:

> "I have no Civil Service status. I have no contract with the government. I get $125 a week when I do work, and if I don't work, I don't get anything."

He's had a busy year—Seattle, Denver, Washington, Cleveland, even Hawaii, where he flew to testify against some other people he doesn't know. He said, "I enjoyed Hawaii. I did, really I did, beautiful country."

Two other witnesses were flown from California. Ronald Gay said Communists "are tremendously active in supporting the people's every-day working requirements." He gave detailed reports on conversations from 1943 on, then suffered total lack of recall when asked about his 1947 expulsion from the United Electrical Workers local at the GE plant in Bridgeport.

MISTAKES—NOT LIES: The other California witness was Louis Rosser, imported to tell he once knew Martha Stone. Asked if he had ever lied under oath, Rosser told the court,

> "I have never testified falsely under oath, but I have made mistakes in names, dates, ages and Marxist-Leninist theory."

Cross-examination revealed his arrest on a lewdness-vagrancy charge, and "four, five or six" arrests for drunkenness . . . "nothing I'm ashamed of."

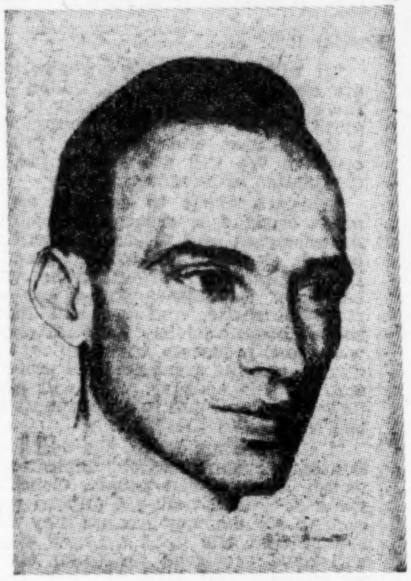
The latest witness is a local man, Worden Mosher, an FBI plant in the party for 10 years, until he was expelled in 1950 when he was found peddling pornographic material.

Before that, Mosher had another hobby: he was the progressives' Santa Claus. Christmas mornings he'd put on the white beard and stuffed suit and make the rounds, handing out gifts and dandling the children.

This Christmas he was fingering their parents.

GBS also means Good Buys at Savings
—See Page 12

Calendar for '56



Above is a memorial portrait of William Kerner, young peace-fighter of the West Coast who died a year ago, drawn by Victor Arnautoff. It is one of the illustrations presented by 12 artists in the San Francisco Graphic Workshop's progressive's calendar for 1956. Pictorial subjects range from landscape and work scenes to peace themes, while the calendar reminds us of such birthdates as those of Tom Paine, Frederick Douglass and Gene Debs. Price: $1; Graphic Workshop, 141 Valencia St., San Francisco, Calif.

PASSPORTS AND PROTESTS

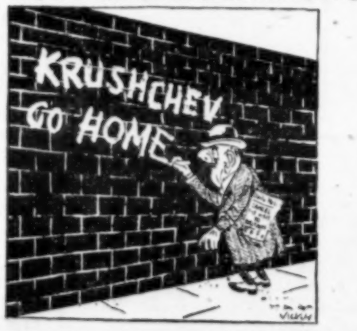
Big campaign on in Scotland for Robeson; thousands sign petitions to Eisenhower

Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

THE CAMPAIGN all over Britain to persuade the State Dept. to give Paul Robeson a passport, so that he may come here to act and sing, has taken on new breadth and strength since the Delegates' Conference on Democratic Rights in America held in Central Hall, Glasgow, recently. Latest development is a strong resolution passed by the London Co-Operative Society, the capital's largest single mass organization, accompanied by an invitation to Robeson to appear at its annual concert next summer. The resolution approved the cable recently sent to President Eisenhower by 249 Trades Union Congress delegates and said:

> "We are convinced that the issuing of a passport to Paul Robeson would materially assist the development of better relations and understanding between the peoples of Britain and the U. S. A."



Vicky, New Statesman & Nation, London

THOUSANDS SIGN: Petitions to Eisenhower circulating mainly in factories in London, Essex, Lancashire, Scotland and other areas have already been signed by many thousands. One was signed by the majority of workers in the EMI record factory, producers of His Master's Voice records including thousands of Robeson discs. British composers and musicians are circulating a petition of their own, and last month 24 physicians sent a "free Robeson" letter to the American Medical Assn.

The Glasgow meeting, probably the broadest yet held to consider the state of U. S. democratic rights, drew 153 delegates with 36 from trade union branches. five from union area committees, eight from Co-Op Women's Guilds, two from shop stewards' committees, two from Labour Party branches, and one each from the Scottish Communist Party, an Independent Labour Party branch and the Glasgow Union of Democratic Control. Two delegate-sponsors were Scottish provosts (mayors) and the chairman was Engineering Union dist. pres. McQuillikin. The meeting initiated a continuing Committee of Scottish American Friendship.

The answer was not satisfactory

A DELEGATION from the Natl. Council of Negro Women, visiting Atty. Gen. Brownell on Dec. 14, "severely criticized" the FBI for refusing to act in Mississippi's Emmett Till lynching case. The Baltimore **Afro-American** (12/24) said the criticism was based on a series of articles and an open letter addressed to the attorney general and to FBI chief Hoover by James Hicks, who covered the Sumner, Miss., trial for the **Afro.**

Hicks wrote that he and other Negro reporters had found witnesses and uncovered evidence for the prosecution but that the witnesses were never called and the evidence never presented.

Brownell, according to the **Afro**, told the delegation that the FBI had investigated Hicks' charges and found them groundless. His answer to the women's question as to why the FBI refused to act in any Mississippi murder case was "unsatisfactory," said the **Afro.**

Eastland's war

(Continued from Page 1)

Eastland:

> "It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups. We will mobilize and organize public opinion. We will attempt to pledge candidates in advance. . . .
>
> "We are about to embark on a great crusade, a crusade to restore Americanism and return the control of our Government to our people. In addition our organization will carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise, and we will fight those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and the West.
>
> "Defeat means death, the death of Southern culture and our aspirations as an Anglo-Saxon people. Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race."

SECESSION HINT: Sen. Eastland has from the start been a vociferous opponent of the Supreme Court school ruling and in recent speeches has hinted at secession if efforts are made to enforce it. In a recent talk in his home state he called the ruling "tyrannous," denounced the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and argued that the Court's interpretation of it makes

> ". . . the first ten amendments to our Constitution operate against the states and not for the protection of the states as the 'Bill of Rights' was originally intended."

The Jackson, Miss., **Daily News** applauded the Senator's speech and wrote:

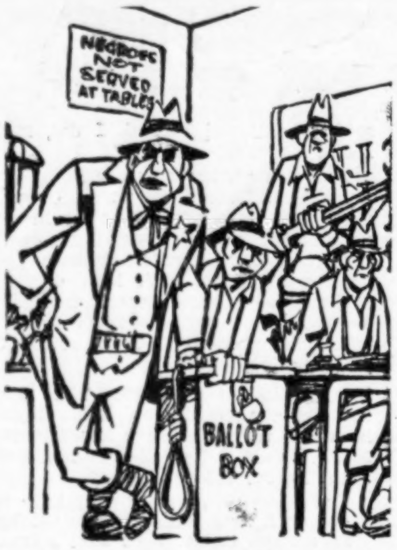
> "In brief, this is a fight for Anglo-Saxon supremacy. This government was created by white men and women."

Four Negroes have already been murdered in Mississippi and a fifth wounded, but the Jackson paper suggested that such violence is only a beginning:

> "The real danger of blood spilling because of the integration decision will not come until serious efforts are made to force Negro children into white schools."

THE BLACK BOOK: Among those elected to the new organization's executive committee and to a three-man legal committee which will draft its constitution is Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi. He is author of a book called **Black Monday** (after the day the Supreme Court decision was handed down) and is the originator of the economic boycott now being waged against Negroes in Mississippi and other parts of the South. He wrote:

> "This economic boycott will make many Negroes in the South destitute. A subsidy should be established whereby these Negroes can be sent by bus and train to the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, California."


NEGROES NOT SERVED AT TABLES
BALLOT BOX

Fred Wright in UE News Service

"How could we protect our democratic freedoms if we let everybody vote?"

These passages are typical of the book:

> "The social, political, economic and religious preferences of the Negro remain close to the caterpillar and the cockroach. . . . Wherever the white man has drunk the cup of black hemlock . . . the white man, his intellect and his culture have died."

NEW AMENDMENT: Major resolution adopted by the founding meeting of the federation was one embodying a bill expected to be introduced in the Virginia legislature in 1956. Under this proposal, the states would move for an amendment to the Federal Constitution barring racial segregation in the schools.

Southerners believe that such an amendment, needing the support of 36 states for ratification, would automatically fail. In that case, the Southern states would declare the Supreme Court's decision "nullified" and "void." The resolution was introduced at the meeting by Congressman L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina.

NAACP reacts

FIRST RESPONSE to the formation of the Dixiecrat Fedn. for Constitutional Government, formed to fight racial integration, came from the New York Branch of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Russell P. Crawford, its president, wired Atty. Gen. Brownell to investigate the new group as "subversive." He said its

> ". . . avowed purpose is the flagrant violation of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions banning segregation in the public schools and interstate commerce."

Concentration camps

(Continued from Page 1)

tured the sham opposition raised by the White House and the liberal wing:

> "Truman vetoed the bill on condition guaranteeing that the veto would be overridden. If Truman had been sincere he would have taken the ten days allowed him. The veto would have been sustained. But he put the convenience of his cronies in Congress before the civil rights of the people. It was the same in the Taft-Hartley Law and with civil rights legislation. He threw a cream-puff after he threatened to throw a hand grenade."

On the floor of the House, Sept. 20, 1950, Marcantonio summed up the Act:

> "We are ready to establish in America the political Bastille, the concentration camp, and the labeling of our citizens. . . . You are supplanting the Constitution with this legislation and you are killing the America of Jefferson and Paine, of Lincoln and Oliver Wendell Holmes; and the America of the Abolitionists, of the men who fought and died to abolish the slave laws and repeal the Alien and Sedition Laws. You are killing the America of the American Revolution."

WHY THE STORY? In the five years since the McCarran Act was passed, many Americans have been jailed or deported, many organizations assaulted under its registration provisions, but the concentration camp section has lain under wraps.

No one knew why the **Times** last week surveyed the readiness of the camps. Some thought it was the **Times'** subtle way of focussing attention on the gathering revival of know-nothingism. The **Times** itself is under an un-subtle attack by the Senate Internal Security sub-committee investigating the press. The paper impartially parceled out responsibility for the camps:

> "The Eisenhower Administration did not set up the program. However, it will continue to operate it on a stand-by basis in the hope that an active basis will not be necessary during this regime. Congress at any time could revise, expand or abolish the program."

Under the McCarran Act the round-ups could start with a proclamation by Congress of an "internal security emergency." The Attorney General would then be empowered to round up any one who "there is reasonable ground to suspect might engage in or conspire with others to commit" espionage or sabotage.

COULD BE NASTY: Times reporter Luther A. Huston said the six camps—at Allenwood, Pa.; Avon Park, Fla.; El Reno, Okla.; Florence, Ariz.; Wickenburg, Ariz., and Tule Lake, Calif.—can accommodate 5,000 right now. "Thousands more could be put in detention camps as fast as they were rounded up."

Huston found no barbed-wire and nothing to suggest "concentration camps" but added:

> "Disciplinary measures and security precautions would be necessary that could make prisoners uncomforable and probably very unhappy."

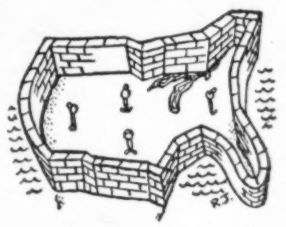
Barbed-wire would seem to be unnecessary in some camps. The one at Florence, Ariz., for instance offers no place to go. Some 150 Federal prisoners are there now, and Huston writes:

> "The desert can get terrifically hot and water is hard to obtain. Most prisoners are recaptured and usually they are glad to get back to the comforts of the camp. . . . The Arizona State Penitentiary is at Florence and bloodhounds are available to follow a fugitive."

THE WORST ONE: Florence housed Italian prisoners of war and boasts a shrine built by them, a chapel, library, hospital and television room, all air-conditioned.

El Reno seems the hell-hole. It is in the path of almost constant north winds which scorch in summer, freeze in winter. There are 29 gray-painted, frame-and-plaster barracks buildings, each heated by three iron stoves. Their dingy walls are still decorated with the double-eagles and regimental insignia of Rommell's Afrika Corps, members of which were imprisoned there during the war.

Wickenburg, Ariz., is the most comfortable and the **Times** indicated it might be reserved for women. There are eight "dormitories" inside a high wire fence. Venetian blinds are up at many of the windows. The dining room has pleasant picture windows fronting on a parade ground, says the **Times.** There is a well-equipped schoolroom where glider-trainees once studied and beds and mattresses are stocked in a warehouse, "ready for immediate use."



SOME ADVICE: The **Times** has a tip for those on the round-up list:

> "If spies and saboteurs who might be rounded up are given their choice they would be wise to choose Wickenburg."

The late Marcantonio had a worthier thought. After the McCarran Act was passed he told the GUARDIAN:

> "We will deal with the McCarran Act in the same manner as the Jeffersonians dealt with the Alien and Sedition Laws, as the pioneer Republicans dealt with the Fugitive Slave Law, as Justice Holmes dealt with the hysteria and the Palmer raids that followed World War I. We will use every single method that was used by the Abolitionists in dealing with the Fugitive Slave Law. Jefferson went to the people and brought about repeal of the Alien and Sedition Laws."

* * *

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—See P. 12

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CALENDAR

Chicago

"U. S. FARMERS IN U. S. S. R.," Soviet feature-length color documentary starts Jan. 20, Cinema Annex, 3210 W. Madison. Fri., Jan. 20 only: In person, D. Gale Johnson, member, U. S. farm delegation, speaks at 8:15 p.m. Added attraction: "Russian Holiday," in color.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"THE COURIER OF LYONS,"** Jan. 7. An ironic tale of 18th century injustice, superbly told. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE FATHER'S DILEMMA"** (Italian).

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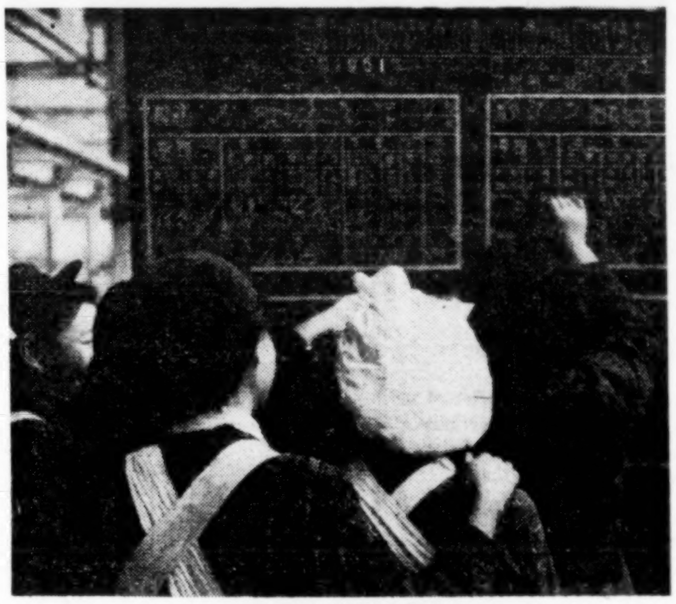

IN THE NEW CHINA
Workers at a school in a factory

BOOKS

The black-haired people and their children's fate

By Hugh Hardyman

EVAN KING is known to American readers for his translation and adaptation of Lau Shaw's Rickshaw Boy, a graphic presentation of the life of a coolie in a treaty port of Kuomintang China. In **Children of the Black-Haired People** he has written a novel of peasant life in Shansi in the 1920s which is not only a first-rate love story but a key to the understanding of current history in China. Through a plot which resembles that of a classical Chinese opera, the entire social structure of a village is made clear and alive. There are 600,000 villages in China, most of which were similar to the Li Family Village in ways of thought and immemorial customs. Only the first cracks were appearing in the social fabric in 1927 and not even the most reckless prophet could have forecast that within a generation the mores of two thousand years would be cast off like a worn-out overcoat.

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By translating into English the names of his characters, Mr. King has avoided the confusion and difficulty caused by a multitude of unfamiliar monosyllabic names. It is easy to follow the actions of Possessed of Talent, Lustful Pleasure and Precious as Pearl, where it would have taxed the memory to keep separate the many gentlemen surnamed Li. For good measure the names of cities and provinces have also been rendered into English. This adds to the beauty and harmony of the tale, which is written in a style according well with the earthy simplicity of the speech and lives of the peasants.

GANGSTER ELEGANCE: There are few Americans who know China as well as Evan King and none who loves the Chinese peasant more than he. The elegant gangsters of the Kuomintang, the polished gentry and the opium monopolists, he knew them well from years of association. And he knew and never forgot the grinding poverty and suffering and oppression on which their elegance was based. His novel shows the mechanics of power in the old society and the monstrous system which we have vainly spent six billion dollars to restore.

It is a cheering thing that such a book can still be published in the United States. May it be read in Washington.

CHILDREN OF THE BLACK-HAIRED PEOPLE by Evan King. Rinehart, N. Y., $5.

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the SPECTATOR

By Anna Louise Strong

Thoughts on reaching seventy

MY FIRST THOUGHT was that I didn't believe it. The news reached me properly enough from the N. Y. **Times**. Last spring, when they phoned all the way to California to tell me the good news from Moscow, they spoke of my being 70. I protested: "Who has **that** idea?" How old are you, the voice asked. I said: "This is 1955. I'm . . . my gosh, I **will** be 70 by the end of the year."

My next thought was: "Let's keep it dark." But after all, my name is in **Who's Who**. So one might as well brag. I don't think anyone "celebrates" 70. It would be much better to be 40. That's my first choice. Seasoned, mature, with plenty of pep and time left.

I didn't spend ten minutes thinking over the 70 years. I did all that last June at my 50th college reunion in Oberlin. That's when you indulge in the past. I noted then that I was adult when the automobile came in, and 30 when the airplane came. I've driven an auto 30 years but I'm not going to learn to fly a plane.

MY LIFETIME SAW MUCH MORE than autos and planes; I saw two great revolutions, the Russian and Chinese, that are transforming our world. I had the fortune to be in on them. It wasn't luck. All progressives knew they were important, so I up and went. I was already a kind of socialist, somewhere between Marx and what later was the New Deal. I had also a streak of pacifism from my father.

All this happily combined into a life purpose first stated by those eminent Republicans, Senators France and Borah, who declared that the peace of the world could be held by two countries, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R.; that therefore the best way to promote world peace was to promote friendly understanding between these two. I have never regretted my life's purpose.

FEW PEOPLE REACH 70 without having lost somewhere on the way whatever they most loved in life: a mother, a husband or wife, a career, an ideal. None of my personal losses, mother, father and husband taken together, were as terrible to me as the two great political shocks of my life.

The first was when America entered World War I and I knew that my country was not unique, that its people were not even free. For the American people did not want to go to war, but the debts of the Allies dragged them in. What that taught me of human freedom I never forgot.

Far worse was the shock when Moscow police arrested me at the height of my usefulness and deported me as a "spy"; nine-tenths of my American friends stopped speaking and I had no outlet for work. It was as if my own widest self destroyed me, and I could not hit back without hurting my wider self. For years it seemed that nine-tenths of me was killed and buried, but one-tenth clung to life and finally grew to a whole person again. We humans are as durable as cats; we also have nine lives.

FRANKLY, ON REACHING 70 I didn't think long about this past. I considered the future, what I most want to do. For 70 was once the end of life, and while we live longer now, still at 70 one just has to consider what to choose most for the strictly limited time and energy that are left.

I want at least one more LONG TRIP, to the U. S. S. R., China and points between—a year or more, to compare deeply with what I knew seven years ago, to compare China with Russia and both with our West. I put in my application for a passport last June, but the State Dept. still sends a "tentative refusal" and "takes it under advisement." I don't know whether to find a couple of thousand bucks for a suit in court, or wait while policy changes. But if it doesn't come through before I'm much older I'll consider most anything.

Then I want to write one more LONG BOOK—not just the report of the trip, but the book many friends urge upon me, summing up what I think of the world and of life. The trouble is I don't yet know, and probably won't, till I start writing and analyzing. I've been too busy to know; I'd like to take time to dig down into consciousness and find out.

I'D LIKE TO STICK AROUND on this earth for a long, long time. I don't want to take the first trip to the moon, or even the tenth. The next generation can have it; something should be left for them. But I want to be here when it happens and read how it was done.

Basically I'm narrow-minded. What happens on this earth interests me more than the moon. I'd like to be around when some of earth's problems get settled. When the oil of the Middle East comes under World Planning, instead of Anglo-American grab and waste. When the first plan for world agriculture is made, and the tropic jungles and Arctic tundra find their place in it.

You can have the moon. I'm too old to feel at home in a space-suit. This little earth will do for me.

Hats off!

GRAHAM, WASH.

I doff my hat to your intelligent and courageous fighting staff of editors and writers. I enjoy very much the messages relayed in your weekly by that great character, Cedric Belfrage, from overseas.

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